

Answers
to
Questions from "The Board of
Foreign Missions of the
Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.,
New York." On the inter-
-racial problem: —

By —
The Hon'ble

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What is the Origin and what do you conceive to be the Divine Purpose of Race and Racial Differences?

The object of these questions being, as stated in the Questionnaire, "to set before our own people the Christian view of race and racial feeling, and the solution of the race problem", I should content myself with starting in these answers with the Biblical view as to the origin of race and racial differences. In Chapter XI of Genesis in the Old Testament we are told that at the beginning of its creation the whole earth was ^{of} one language and of one speech. I understand that to mean that but one race of people existed at the beginning of the creation. The Science of Comparative Philology supports that statement of fact. The account ^{of} Genesis goes on to say that it came to pass, as the single race that then existed journeyed from the east, they dwelt in the land of Shinar; that they started building a city and a tower; and that the Lord "confounded their language and scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth", to prevent their being "one people", and having "all one language." In Chapter XII of Genesis we have it that God asked Abram to get out of his country and from his kindred, and from his father's house unto a land which God would show him with the object of making him the father of "a great nation." These historical facts, put very pithily in the Bible, show that the family first and the tribe afterwards gave origin to race; and ^{that} racial differences have been due to differences of climate, language, religion, traditions, and other circumstances that compose a people's environment. While these main facts of the story in the Bible find support from the discoveries of science and the researches of history, the view propounded in Chapter XI of Genesis that God, having ^{become} ~~been~~ jealous of the men who ^{started} ~~building~~ ^{building}

the city and the tower, confounded their language and scattered them abroad, to restrain their ambition and prevent them from becoming all-powerful against the Almighty, represents the crude primitive view as to the origin of race. The later conception of God is Love promoting Unity, not Jealousy and Fear. The Bible must be studied as a book dealing with ^{the} evolution of Man and the human-race - their growth from crude ideas to the highest conceptions of humanity as revealed by the life and teachings of Christ. To the primitive view expressed in Genesis God appeared to deal with men on the principle subsequently enunciated by the Romans for the government of their Empire - the principle, viz., of "divide and rule". That principle has been corrupted to mean that the safety of a ruler lies in breeding differences among the ruled that they may not prove powerful against the ruling authority by reason of union among themselves. But the true meaning of "divide and rule" as the Divine law of life is given to us in Genesis itself and also in some other books of the Old Testament when the writers of those books merely state facts as distinguished from their understanding of the implications of those facts. For instance, the first true glimpse of the Divine law of "divide and rule" is afforded in Chapter IV, Genesis, in the second verse of which we are told that the two sons of Adam and Eve were not alike, because "Abel was a ~~K~~eeper of sheep but Cain was a tiller of the ground." "Orders and degrees", says Milton in the Paradise Lost, "far not with liberty but well consist". A wise ruler promotes the cause of good government and contributes to Unity among his people by dividing the government into gradations and ranks such as we now know by the name of departments, division of labour, delegated authority, or decentralization. Nature is our best teacher on this point as to the Divine purpose of race and racial differences. It is out of variety and diversity

that Nature exhibits her harmony and beauty. The Poet Browning brings that out in these lines:-

"Rather learn and love

Each facet-flash of the revolving year:-

Red, green, and blue, that whirl into white,

The variance, the eventual unity,

Which makes the miracle."

Or take these lines from Wordsworth's Prelude:-

The immeasurable height

Of woods decaying, never to be decayed,

The stationary blasts of waterfalls,

And in the narrow rent at every turn

Winds thwarting winds, bewildered and forlorn,

The torrents shooting from the clear blue sky,

The rocks that muttered close upon our ears,

Black drizzling crags that spake by the wayside

As if a voice were in them, ^{the} ~~and~~ sick sight,

And giddy prospect of the raving stream,

The unfettered cloud and region of the Heavens,

Tumult and peace, the darkness and the light —

Were all like workings of one mind, the features

Of the same face, blossoms upon one tree,

Characters of the great Apocalypse, —

The types and symbols of Eternity,

Of first, and last, and midst, and without end.

In short, unity must come and can only come out of diversity. What doubt is to faith, as an incentive, ~~so~~ diversity is to unity. All the different races have each its peculiarity of contribution to the happiness and progress of the world. All depend ^{upon} ~~of~~ one another. In St. Paul's phrase, all are intended to be members of one another. No race is nor can be self-sufficient without stunting itself. Even as between and among the people of one race, sameness of all without diversity in points of view, capacity, and personality, is apt to lead to imbecility and retard the cause of ~~tr~~ truth. "Assemblies that are met" - wrote Burke - "and with a resolution to be all of a mind, are assemblies

that can have no opinion at all of their own. The first proposal of any measure must be their master." The same law applies to races. Each has its own mission allotted to it by Providence to promote the unity of the world - the brotherhood of the whole human race under the fatherhood of God.

It has been remarked by some writers that two essential problems enter into the problem of Life, viz., (1) the food problem, and (2) the race problem. The former is indispensable for ^{the} self-preservation of a race and the latter for its self-realization.

Let me briefly consider the true aspect of ~~e~~ each of these problems, on which depends primarily the very existence and continuance of a race.

In its primitive conditions a people belonging to a ^a country have, comparatively speaking, ^{but} a few wants, whether in point of food ~~and~~ other necessities of life. But as they advance in civilization, the wants increase with their standard of life, so that every country comes to be more or less dependent on others. Hence the growing value of commerce. Commerce, which in its accepted sense means the exchange of goods between one country and another, represents the spiritual value of what St. Paul has termed Charity, meaning the brotherliness of love. This interdependence of races or nations for food gives rise to the terms familiar to Political Economy - such as production, distribution, exchange, value, currency, etc.,. These terms mean that St. Paul's pithy saying that "^{none of us} ~~no man~~ ~~can~~ liveth to himself" and "~~no man~~ ~~can~~ dieth to himself" applies to races and nations as well. Mr. Harry F. Ward in his book on ^{The} "New Social Order" has well pointed out that during the last war "it became glaringly apparent that no nation was sufficient unto itself for ^{its} economic life." In 1915, Mr. Lloyd George, who was then the British Prime Minister, said in a public speech that the commandment "Love thy neighbour as thyself" is not only good religion but

also
 "good business." The idea of Free-Trade first came into the thoughts of the late Mr. Gladstone when he was at the Board of Trade. He saw there a letter from a Chinese Official at Canton to the Head Swell at Peking, suggesting that "no ships should be allowed at Chinese ports without heavy dues, but that ships bring -ing food for the people - that was quite another affair." (Page 193: Sir Algernon West's Diaries). That puts the Divine purpose of *different* races in a nutshell, so far as the interdependence of ~~different races~~ in respect of *the problem* food is concerned.

Writing as a Hindu, I may here supplement what I have said by an appeal to the voice of the Hindu religion in its highest aspects. The Hindu Scriptures declare that "food is the form of Brahma" i.e. the Universal Soul. That is to say, it is a symbol of the Divine - because it is "the life of the whole world." It is a current proverb in India: "Meat and Matrimony are Unifiers."

Turning now to the question of the self-realization of a race as an indispensable condition of Life, we must first settle what self-realization means in the case of a race. In the case of an individual, we know that there are two selves - the animal self and the spiritual self. Self-realization in the case of an individual means growing from the lower animal to the higher spiritual plane of life, man rising (to use the familiar lines of Tennyson) "on the stepping stones of his dead self." This he can do only by trying to realize in his own person the Ideal of the Absolute, the life of the Universal Soul. What is true of Self-realization in the case of an individual man is also true in the case of his race. Every race has its own peculiar genius, by means of which *it* is ordained to express and realize itself *to* fulfil its *allotted* mission, *and to* make its contribution to the good of humanity as a whole, and thereby *to* help the cause of the the unity of the world and civilization. What St.

Paul has explained in Chapter XII of I Corinthians holds good of races as well as individual persons. "There are diversities of gifts but the same spirit; and there are differences of administrations but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations but it is the same God which worketh all in all..... All these worketh that one and the self-same spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will." "There is no difference between the Jew and the Greek, for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him." That this law applies to races also has been so tersely expressed in an article which appeared in the International Journal of Ethics (May, 1921) that I shall take the liberty of citing it here: - After stating that national genius is expressed only "by aiming at the absolute ideal", that self-consciousness both in a nation and an individual is a hindrance to self-expression and "self-realization", the writer observes, "when a nation has produced great original work, it has not been by trying to be characteristically national but by seeking to find the absolute truth. It is by keeping steadily in view the ideal and in obedience to the universal claims of truth and love that nationality will reach its highest expression."

To each race then its peculiar genius is given in order that all races may serve one another and out of diversities of gifts constituting the brighter side of racial differences help and promote mutual good. As beautifully sung by the Scotch Divine (Dr. George Matheson) in his ~~beautiful~~ hymn: "One in Christ,"

"Thine is the mystic light that India craves;
 Thine is the Parsi's sin-destroying beam;
 Thine is the Buddha's rest from tossing waves;
 Thine is the Empire of vast China's dream;

Gather us in.

Thine is the Roman's strength without his
 pride;

Thine is the Greek's glad world without its
graves;

Thine is ~~the~~ Juda^e's law, with Love beside -
The Truth that centres and the Grace that
saves.

.....

Within Thy Mansion we have all and more.

Gather us in.

II. What is your definition of race? Are the different races fundamentally unlike or are their variations superficial and removable? Is so, to what extent, and through what processes or forces?

I do not feel equal to the task of defining the term race. That is a task for experts.

I should venture to think that the different races are fundamentally alike if by fundamentally we mean at the core. The proverbial sayings that "human nature ~~at the bottom~~ is the same everywhere, and that one touch of nature makes the whole world kin," record centuries of world-wide experience. Years ago an English Divine - Rev. Mr. Fielding - wrote and published a book on "The Soul of a People", which then attracted much attention. The author there described the character of the people of Burmah and displayed an insight into it which was the result of his personal contact with and life for a number of years amongst them in their own country. The purport of the book was that it is one Soul, one human heart with the Divine as its indwelling Spirit, which animates all the different races of mankind; that such racial differences as divide peoples and lead to mutual hatred are, however strongly marked, more or less superficial and can be removed by mutual sympathy between race and race. Since then, I believe, "the soul of a people" has become not only a classic phrase but a familiar expression in literature representing the truth embodied in the English proverb, above cited. Similar proverbs have been from ancient times current in India. It should be easy to prove that racial differences are superficial and that fundamentally - meaning, at the bottom, deep down in the recesses of the human heart - all races are alike (by illustration ~~and history~~). The celebrated Darwin, to whom we the doctrine of Evolution, has told us that certain Fuegians, who were brought to England in his time, were found by him on close examination to be at the bottom.

* by facts from history

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not unlike Englishmen or any other civilized race. The Africans who loved the great Livingstone, and served him faithfully, ready to die for him; the Samoans whom Louis Stevenson gathered about him and ^{who} became his ardent followers on account of his loving service to them so much so that they built a road in his honour and called it "The Road of the Loving Heart" because they called ^{him} ~~by that name~~ "the loving heart" - these are not stray illustrations from actual life. The Old Testament ^{has} made us familiar with the expression that "the Ethiopian cannot change his skin." The skin no doubt is tough and it may not be easy to eradicate the habits and qualities, mental and moral, due to the environment of climate, religion, and traditions which it connotes and breeds. But after all the skin is ^{an} external covering of the human body and if you creep inside it, you can discover God in the germ in every man, woman, and child of every human race. The Biblical saying that an Ethiopian cannot change his skin has been taken to mean that racial nature is ineradicable. If that is so, why has the Bible used the word "skin" instead of employing the word "nature" to convey that idea? The studious use of the word "skin" is significant. And, as General Gordon used to say, we must creep inside the skin of a man to find his human point of view. The same God dwells in all - our differences are after all but skin-deep.

While that is so, to each race is given its own genius. The ancient Greek was different from the ancient Romans; the Jews had their own racial characteristics. Just as every individual has his own personality differentiating him from other individuals, so every race has its own peculiarities, enabling it to develop itself on their lines and thereby contribute to the civilization of mankind as a whole. Those peculiarities may prove a blessing if the development on their basis is directed by the knowledge and consciousness

that all the races are the children of one God bound together by the chain of the brotherhood of Love. They prove a curse where the race becomes hide-bound and is led by conceit of itself and treats other race as inferior doomed by nature to serfdom.

I think that such of the racial variations as are skin-deep, due to the environment, traditions, and religion of a race and as retard its progress can be removed without detriment to or loss of those racial variations which constitute the peculiar ~~gen~~ genius of the race fitting it to contribute ^{its quota} to the civilization of mankind as a whole. The racial variations which have proved a hindrance to that civilization have persisted either because some races have lived a self-contained life of isolation ^{hidebound} _{because} separated from the rest of the civilized world, ^{or} when they have been brought into contact with it, the more civilized and powerful race has treated the backward race as a race of helots and exploited it for its own aggrandisement. The idea has prevailed that some races have been created by God as superior beings, destined to lord it over other races doomed to inferiority and remain in the lower scale of civilization. This idea dates from the ancient times and has done much mischief ^{in our own days} owing to a misunderstanding of the laws of biology and the doctrine of Evolution made familiar to us in the nineteenth century by Darwin and Spencer. At the Annual Meeting of the Universities Mission to Central Africa held in London in May, 1921, Bishop Gore presiding, Archdeacon H.W. Woodward, who had served the Mission since 1878, recounted his experiences which illustrate the way in which this race problem is treated by ^{some} European races in the name of Christianity. Archdeacon Woodward said:-

"We are told that the best way to civilize the African is to make him work. That depends upon what is meant by civilization. Work does not necessarily

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christianize and does not necessarily lead a man to Christianity. Once a man told me that ~~the~~ best way to help the Africans was to teach ^{them} to love strong drink and then they would work well in order to get money to buy it. He was a man with a title. I have often talked with settlers on the subject of work and they speak as though it were the remedy for all evils of body and soul." (See The Guardian; a London Weekly: 20th, May, 1921: Page 372).

^{Venerable}
The Archdeacon, further stated: -

"I was in that country ten years before any other Europeans (except the members of the Mission) came to it. I know that the general moral character of the tribe was higher than it is at the present time. Conduct, which would have been then condemned by the whole tribe, is now treated as a matter of *no* consequence. I will not say that this is entirely due to the presence of Europeans. It is due also very much to the presence of foreign labourers like the Chinese and the Japanese. It has made our work harder than it would have been. It has been made harder still by the aloofness from religion on the part of many of our European brothers. In pre-war days the people looked upon most Europeans as non-Christians, if not absolute heathen. It was thought a most remarkable thing last year when an Assistant Political Officer went into a Church to say his prayers. *The news* went through all the country."

As another illustration of the mischievous and false view which a superior race takes of the races it considers inferior, I would cite what Lord Stanmore told the British Parliament in 1907. He said that a very large proportion of white settlers in Fiji held the view that the natives there ought to be deprived of the ownership of lands, because the natives would then be obliged to sell their labour. The late Hon. James Mason, a large planter and a member of the Legis

-lative Council in Fiji, met His Lordship one day and grumbled at the state of things generally and the state of planting. Lord Stanmore said to him: he had just been moving about the Colony and witnessed more prosperity than had been two years ago, — in every native village new and better houses and extended civilization, the people looking well-fed, and happy, more pigs and more poultry. Mr. Mason's reply was: "Yes, Sir, of course they are better off; and they are much better off; but we do not want them to be better off; we want them to be ill-off; when they are ill-off, they will come and work for us but when they are well-off, they will not." Lord Stanmore, having recounted that experience, told Parliament: -

"I took these words down at the time, and I have often thought of them since. They are an index of the antipathy which is displayed on the part of many settlers to native occupation of land." (See the Official Reports of Parliamentary Debates: House of Commons: IVth Series: Vol. 178; Cols. 476 & 478.

This exploitation of the backward races by those higher in civilization are really at the root of the mischiefs due to the race-problems. Providence has intended that the different races should be inter-dependent and history shows that races have risen in the scale of civilization by coming into contact with one another; but that contact should be one of sympathy, of love as the golden rule of life for all races, and not of one exploitation for greed and selfish interests. History also proves - and the Bible is the most terse and trenchant history on the subject - that a superior race which exploits an inferior race for its own interests and aggrandisement digs its own grave by contracting the vices of the latter - giving to the world (as the Italian Statesman Cavour said) a great lesson and teaching

the most powerful nations that their crimes and their errors recoil sooner or later on those who commit them.

It follows then:-

1. Providence has intended that the different races should be interdependent. It is a law of nature that a race which lives isolated from the rest of the world lives a life of stagnation and decay.

2. Conquest and commerce are the two main agencies employed by Providence to bring the different races into contact with one another and learn from and help one another, ~~and~~.

3. Races superior in point of civilization should help the inferior races, when they come in contact with the latter by ~~either~~ ^{whether} means of conquest or commerce, by diffusing the blessings of education, sound religion, sanitation and the like. It should not be the help of exploitation. The inferior race should be encouraged to stand on its own legs instead of being treated as inferior, doomed to servitude and unfit to rise in the scale of civilization. Christ's teaching: "Be ye perfect as your Father in Heaven is perfect"; "Be ye Merciful as Your Father in Heaven is Merciful" is the soundest principle for wholesome practice in the regulation of intercourse between superior and inferior races. It is by following

Christ's golden rule of Life that racial differences can be gradually removed and the two Divine agencies of world-unity - conquest and commerce - be used, not abused, in fulfilment of the Divine purpose of racial differences. There is no other sovereign remedy for the eradication of those differences. It is a long and perhaps painful process, but as St. Paul truly said in Romans VIII:-

"We know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now. We are saved by hope... Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities... And we know all things work together for

good to them that love God, to them who are ^{the} called according to his purpose. . . . May, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us."

To what extent racial differences can be removed is a question which it is difficult to answer. Ours is to work, directed by the golden rule of Christ - the results are in His hands, whose instruments we are. So far as the world has moved forward, it has moved by the light of that rule.

"Nothing" - wrote Kant - "can possibly be conceived in the world or out of it, which can be considered good without qualification except a good-will. Intelligence, wit, judgment, and other talents of the mind, however they may be named, or courage, resolution, perseverance, as qualities of temperament, are undoubtedly good and desirable in many respects; but these gifts of nature may become extremely bad and mischievous, if the Will which is to make use of them and which, therefore, constitutes what is called Character is not good."

On that Mr. Pringle Pattison in his Giffard Lectures on The Idea of God remarks: - "The most perfect realization of unity in variety is as naught, if there is nowhere anything to which we can attach this predicate of Value."

This principle of good-will is in theory praised. There is no conquering nation which has ~~denied~~ denied in profession at least that its duty is to govern the conquered for the good of the latter. But the practice has more or less departed from the profession and measures designed in reality to serve the selfish interests of the conqueror have been supported on the ground that they are for the good of the conquered. That has been more or less the character of modern diplomacy. The ancient conquerors, not having the benefit of expanded ideas of religion and ^{the} brotherhood of the human race which we moderns have, made

their professions consistent with their practice. Modern conquerors have no excuse for the camouflage which marks the dealings of most, if not all of them, with the ~~conquered~~ *backward races, whether conquered or not.*

3. The scholars and learned men of the different ~~race~~ should form a brotherhood and become the bond of union among them. Emerson has well defined a scholar as a man of all climes and ages. The Universities as seats of learning should take up this question and become among the centres for propagating the ideas of ^{human} brotherhood. *and propagate correct ideas on racial differences.*

4. The Press has come to be a most powerful agency for spreading ideas and forming opinions in these times. It is to this age what the Prophets were ~~to~~ ^{to the} ~~old~~ ^{ages}. While the Press has done much good to the world, it has done ^{much} harm also. As has been said, wars and racial animosities have been often made by the Press. The worst of it is that with the growth of industrialism and commerce, the Press has also been becoming more and more ~~a~~ a commercial venture, fostering racial prejudices and pandering to racial vanity. The prophet of the age is becoming its pedlar. In these times of democracy, men and women hang on the newspapers and have no time to think or reason for themselves. It is a great deal in the hands of the Press to diffuse sound ideas on the question of race and racial differences.

5. Above all, the churches should fulfil their proper function by insisting that races shall deal with one another on the cardinal principle of religion embodied in Christ's teaching: "Love thy neighbour as thyself"; "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." It has been recorded of Alfred the Great that he gathered the laws of England together and ordered many to be written which the fore-fathers of Englishmen had held; he promulgated such of those laws as he approved,

rejected those he disapproved and had other ordinances enacted with the counsel of his Witan; and he introduced the laws so enacted by quoting these rare and everlasting words of Jesus: "Whatsoever Ye would that men should do to you, do Ye even so to them." And quoting that he added:-

"By this one commandment a man shall know whether he does right, and then he will require no other law book."

III. What is the teaching of Hinduism and Mahomedanism with regard to race? Please compare these religions and Christianity in their relation to the race problem.

Hinduism: To understand the teaching of Hinduism with regard to race, it is necessary to bear in mind that Hinduism is not one creed but a conglomeration of creeds, ranging from the highest form of Monotheism to the lowest form of Animism. Just as Christ preached both to Jew and Gentile "Be Ye perfect as your Father in Heaven is perfect", thereby declaring to men of all races, whatsoever, in spite of their racial differences, it is given to be perfect, and grow in point of character and personality, so also the Hindu Scriptures known as the Upanishadas maintain that growth in perfection is open to all and within the reach of all because the Universe and every element, animate or inanimate in it, has the seed of perfection. Just as Christ sought to help that growth by leading his followers step by step, so also Hinduism maintains that men must be led gradually to the attainment of perfection. But there the comparison ends and the contrast begins. Christ chose his followers from amongst the most ignorant and sinful of people. He worked from the bottom to the top. He held before them the ideal of the Absolute and by its help raised them to "perfection". There he proved the true psychologist of human nature. Elevate the lower, the higher are necessarily elevated, being provoked to emulation (to use St. Paul's words). But elevate the higher, it does not follow that the lower are also elevated. Hence Christ devoted his service to the ^{finding and saving} ~~cause~~ of "the lost sheep." Christ has also proved that the masses and the most backward classes can be gradually raised more effectively by a straight and simple appeal to what is called "the tremendous dialectics" and "^{the} audacious logic" of the ^{human} heart than by an appeal to the logic of reasoning or the subtleties of Metaphysics ^{or Theology}. ~~That~~ was Christ's way of winning men to the path of perfection. He made that path open to all without

distinction of race. Hinduism, on the other hand, by its doctrine of caste, has practically inculcated the principle that a man's destiny in life is determined by his birth; he cannot rise into a higher caste. An appeal to the Absolute, it holds, is for the highly cultured classes only - the lower classes, the average man must be left to conform to lower forms of worship and life. In its operation, this way of Hinduism has had the effect of separating caste from caste and retarding the brotherhood of races. Hinduism, for centuries, has banned travel to foreign lands for fear that its followers may get corrupted thereby. At the same time it has allowed foreigners to come and settle in India and live as a separate race. It has never put a ban on immigration from foreign lands and of foreign races *into India*.

This paradoxical attitude of Hinduism - its fear of the mixture of castes and races, its toleration of other races and faiths, represents both its weak and strong points. Toleration is good but when allied to unreasonable fear of corruption from caste and race mixture it leads to stagnation. We see the result - Hinduism has become a mixture of multitudinous creeds and castes and disunion. This evil side of Hinduism has not been without a protest and a revolt against it from within its own fold. That protest and revolt came from Buddha first and after him from the saints of the school called Bhakti (Devotion), whose Bible is the Bhagwad-Gita and who flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries after Christ. According to popular and orthodox Hinduism, the world has passed through certain Ages such as the Golden and the Iron Age; the present Age is called the Age of Kali (the Destroyer). The popular belief about that Age is that it is destined to end in the mixture of castes and races, when anarchy will prevail and each man and each woman will break away from the bonds of authority and religion; and the world will become a chaos first and ~~ruin~~ afterwards. The present Age, then, stands in the eye of popular Hinduism as the Age of Sin and Unrighteousness

This Hindu belief formed the subject of mythology foretold in
affluence (mythological book) dating from 1000 B.C.
 Here it is written of the present age: - "The man who
 owns most gold and lavishly distributes it will gain dominion over all. Religion will consist in *toasting*
 alms at large & self-willed women will seek for power. They who rule the State will rule the people and abstract
 the wealth of merchants on the plea of raising taxes. And in the world's last age the rights of man will be
 confused, no property be safe." (see this quoted by Sir F. Banker in the House of Commons on the 14th May
 1909 in opposing the Budget Resolutions of Mr. Lloyd George: Parl. Deb: F. 7th Ser: Vol II: Col 60)

bringing in its train all the evils of what is called Sankara ^{an Indian word,} meaning the corruption and ruin of mankind through mixture of the different races.

Against this belief the Saints I have above mentioned have fought hard and striven to dislodge it. They have praised the present Age as the Age of Hope and Salvation for human kind, especially the weakest and lowest of ^{the} human race. They have, therefore, represented it as the Golden Age of the World and described its virtues in glowing terms. According to them, in the past ages the masses were kept down by the higher classes and the true knowledge of God was made inaccessible to them. Rights of humanity were thereby withheld from the masses. But in the present Age God has manifested Himself to all, irrespective of caste and race; even the meanest menial can now win God by simple devotion and a righteous life without the aid of formal rites and ceremonial religion which made religion and life a matter of outward observances in the past and the privilege of the higher castes only. That in essence is the teaching of the Bhagwad-Gita - that God is no respecter of persons or races; that distinctions of Colour (meaning race) have been ordained by Him not by the test of birth, but by the test of each man's qualities and actions. Following that teaching, another Scripture of the Hindus - the Bhagwat Purana - declares that the Golden Age of the World was not in the Past but that the present Kali Age is the Golden Age because it brings together all the different races and castes, high and low, into the bonds of brotherhood. This idea is the theme of numerous hymns composed by ^{nearly} all the ^{Indian} saints. As a sample may be quoted here a hymn of the well-known Maratha Saint Tukaram, who is a most popular saint among the masses in Western India and who lived in the sixteenth century, A.D. In that hymn he sang:-

"God's Liberty has come into the market-places of the world. Let all freely partake of it. Come unto it, Ye ~~people~~ people of all castes; accept the free gift and share it to

your heart's content and be blessed. There is no distinction here of caste between man and man, high or low.

In short, I may adopt the language of St. Paul and say that according to the saints in India, in the present Age we are no longer under the dominion of the Law (called the Shastras by Hinduism) but we are under grace, called upon to "serve in newness of spirit and not in the oldness of the letter". This is the common-meeting ground for Hinduism and Christianity with reference to the race problem.

Coming now to the question of the race-problem as viewed by Mahomedanism, the Prophet Mahomed made no distinction between race and race - he opened his creed to all.

Now, to compare Hinduism, Mahomedanism, and Christianity in their relation to the race-problem, the defect of Hinduism (in its popular sense) is that it regards race differences as natural and countenances the idea of fatalism. Hinduism is a religion of toleration, - its doctrine is "Live and let live". These words sum up its popular creed. When I was a boy and was sent to a school kept by a Christian Missionary, the Missionary who taught us the Bible every day for an hour, used to denounce Hinduism in violent terms. My maternal-grand-father, who brought me up and sent me to the school for education, was an orthodox Brahmin. I naturally resented the Missionary's abuse of Hinduism. One day, unable to stand the abuse any longer, I complained to my grand-father. Instead of resenting the conduct of the Missionary, my grand-father counselled me to pay no heed to the Missionary's view of Hinduism. "But, grand-papa!" I said, "is the Missionary right in saying that Hinduism is a false religion, and that Christianity is the only true religion?" My grand-father replied as follows:-

"God is One but men are many. To each man God has given his own peculiar religion to follow. Man's religion is determined for him according to the race he is born in. It happened in this way. Once upon a time a Christian,

a Mahomedan, and a Hindu approached God. The Christian asked: "How am I to worship Thee, O Lord!" God made a Cross of two fingers of His hand and so Christians worship the Cross. The Mahomedan next asked the same question. God held up the palm of his hand and showed him the five fingers of His hand. Therefore Mahomedans worship God in the form of those five fingers. Last of all the Hindu enquired likewise. To him God showed himself as ~~a Man~~ ^{an idol} and ~~bid~~ ^{bade} him worship God in the ~~form of an idol.~~ "If that is so" - I asked my grand-father - "all the three religions are true. Why then does the Christian Missionary abuse ^{our} Hindu religion as false?" My grand-father quieted me with the following answer:-

"Each man ought to be proud of his own religion. So the Christian is proud of his. My boy, be proud of your own religion and be tolerant of the rest. Listen quietly to the Missionary but go on your own way, not minding what he says ^{but} following the religion prescribed by God to us, Hindus."

I cite this for the purpose of illustrating my point that Hinduism is a religion of toleration sometimes carried to excess. It has no aggressiveness about it. It has enrolled even the Apostle of Atheism - Kapila - as one of its objects of worship. Thus Hinduism survives by yielding even where it ought not to yield and perpetuates among other evils the evil of caste and race differences.

The defect of Mahomedanism is that it errs on the other side, - it is intolerant. It treats all races not brought within its fold as "infidels". That proves a hindrance to the right solution of the race problem and racial differences.

Christianity as taught by Christ is wisely tolerant. He lived and taught by

Working miracles

Not on the waves and winds but in the wills
Of men, upon the hearts of multitudes,

Healing, restoring, blessing.

But the question is whether Christianity, meaning by it the Christianity of the Churches, has been "healing, restoring, blessing" by walking in the foot-steps of the Master as it should. The doctrine of "the White Man's Burden", "the Open Door", and other phrases of modern polity in Europe have intensified the problem of racial differences with the result that, as remarked by the Archbishop of York in his address at the Church Congress held at Sheffield (England) in October, 1922, "Religion attracts but the Church repels." The Church repels ~~because~~ because it has not kept faith with the Master as it should and has left the field of the race-problem to politicians, statesmen, and economists who have no vision beyond "my country and race, right or wrong".

IV. What do you conceive to be the right solution of race-problems? In what senses are races are equal or to be considered equal? What is your view of racial inter-marriage?

In my answer to Question No.2 I have stated what, in my opinion, are the processes or forces to be employed for the removal of the superficial variations of the different races. To that I would here add that the right solution of race-problems primarily depends on Education,

Dr. Lester F. Ward, a great American authority upon the New Science of Sociology, has said in his book on "Applied Sociology", that the only solution of racial problems lies in Education. "Wars", so stated the London Times Literary Supplement, in its issue of the 16th July 1921, "are made in class-rooms before they ever come up for discussion in the Council-room of the States." The last war, which has made a havoc of the world and laid bare the evils of modern civilization, was due (it is generally admitted) to the fact that the wells of youth had been poisoned by false notions of patriotism, and nationality taught and encouraged in the home and the school. If we are to solve the race-problem, we must first solve the educational problem. The future citizens of a country must be caught young for that purpose. The education of a people does not mean education in schools and colleges only. It means the home also. Both in the home and the class-room ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ an atmosphere of wholesome patriotism and sound nationality should be created. Youth should be taught and brought up on and in the idea that patriotism and nationality are and ought to be paths leading to love of the human race - the brotherhood of the races. It is a wise saying of Bacon²: "If I might control the literature of the household I would guarantee the well-being of the Church and the State." How can peace and amity be secured among the different races when in the class-rooms and homes youth are fed, so to say, on knowledge fostering false notions

of love of one's own country and race hatred or jealousy or contempt of other races?

It is just three years since I had a painful experience in this matter. An Indian friend of mine, who occupies a high position as a member of the Indian Civil Service - a gentleman who has been to England and moved in English society and is widely cultured - was staying in a Hotel with his accomplished wife - also an Indian - and their son, a boy, ~~of~~ ten years of age. In the same Hotel resided a European lady with her son, about six years old. I used to go every morning to the Hotel to see my Indian friend and his wife. For some days I found their son and the European boy playing together on friendly terms. The Indian boy spoke English as well as any English boy and both took kindly to each other. One morning, however, when I went up to the Hotel, I heard the European boy say to the Indian boy: "I am not going to play with you. Don't come near me. Mamma has asked me not to play with you, not to speak to you, because you are a black man." This is how race conceit and hatred are fostered in the home.

Home life, they say, is gradually declining in Europe and America and is being replaced by club-life. I do not know how far that is true. But a good home or family life is the fountain of ^{sound} national life. The right solution of ~~the~~ the race-problem must begin with sound education in the atmosphere of the home and the class-room. The infinite worth of man, whatever his race, of even the ~~most~~ downmost man, should animate that atmosphere.

The present is an industrial and economical age; and its industrial and economical arrangements have proceeded on lines which intensify the evil of class and racial differences. The right solution of the race-problem will come if the Age realizes the value of the conclusions arrived at in 1920 by the Conference, held at Lambeth and composed of 253 Bishops of the Anglican Church. In the Report issued by the Conference they say that experience has shown that the doctrine that the best possible

condition of society as a whole is that in which different individuals, sections, interests, or classes pursue their own self-interest is absolutely false; and that nothing less than a fundamental change in the spirit and working of our economical life is necessary. And they remark: - "This change can only be effected by accepting as the basis of industrial relations the principle of co-operation in service for the common good in place of unrestricted competition for private profit. As God is our Father and as the Eternal Son of God took our whole human nature upon Him, every son and daughter of God is of infinite and equal value. There are wide differences in capacity but such differences do not warrant any loss of liberty or failure to give to the children of God the opportunity of a full human life."

In this alone lies the right solution of the race-problem.

Now, as to the question "in what sense are races equal or are considered to be equal".

Races, like individuals who compose a race, may not be equal - in fact are not - in point of intellectual, moral, or physical endowments but they are all equal in the ~~same~~ sense that every race, like every man, is equally entitled to (1) life, (2) liberty, (3) the pursuit of happiness. These are the natural rights of every race as of every human being. That every human being is of worth goes without saying. No one ^{in his senses, I believe,} ~~hardly~~ disputes that. As to liberty, every race has a right to live its own life and mould its own destiny, and to resist enslavement by another race. If we understand liberty in the only sense in which it makes man worthy - that is to say, the liberty to be a free man of God, living a life of service - a life of self-renouncing love - all races are equally fitted for it.

I think St. Paul has helped us to discern in what sense all races are equal or are considered to be equal. "Are all Apostles? Are all Prophets? Are all Teachers? Are all Workers of Miracles? Have all the gifts of healing? Do all speak with tongues? Do all interpret? But

covet earnestly the best gifts." *All races are equal in their power to correct, which alone can solve the race-problem.*
Racial Inter-Marriage.

As to racial intermarriage, I do not agree with those who disapprove of/inter-racial marriages and condemn them wholesale as leading to racial degeneracy. Why should an inter-marriage prove a failure if it is really a love marriage? Inter-marriages have proved unhappy (within my knowledge) because they have not been love marriages. Have not marriages between persons of the same race proved failures? I would not ^{actively} encourage a racial inter-marriage. At the same time I would ^{neither} actively discourage and condemn it. The prejudice against inter-marriage is rooted in racial prejudices and hatred. Remove the causes of the latter - the problem of racial inter-marriage will solve itself.

- V. (a) What is the relation of Colour to ^{the} race-problem?
- (b) What is the relation of Race to Nationality?

www

As to (a):*

Though colour has not been the sole determining ^{factor} ~~cause~~ of racial differences and even the different races of the same colour have prejudices against one another, leading to grave misunderstandings, sometimes ending in wars, yet colour is a more potent cause of those differences than anything else. It is in fact day by day proving the greatest hindrance to the solution of the race-problem. Judging from the present, the world-struggle of the future threatens to be between the White races and the so called Coloured races.

As to (b):-

Race at one time played a very important part in the formation of nationalities. As pointed out by Mr. A. F. Pollard in his book on "The Evolution of Parliament", "there are various means by which unity has been stamped upon the peoples of the world. In primitive times and backward communities it has been simply a matter of race." But conquest, commerce, and other agencies of modern civilization, which have brought the different races of the world into more or less contact and communion with one another, have tended to minimize the place of race upon nationality. Nationality - a term difficult to define precisely - has grown out of several elusive elements; but in the main it has come to be the product of ^{a common} political consciousness. In the words of Renan, nationality grows among a people composed of different races not out of identity of speech or race but from the fact of having accomplished in the past great things in common with the desire to achieve like things in future. Nationality, in short, represents the idea of community of State or political sovereignty; a race represents community of blood and descent.

VI. What is the cause of racial prejudice?

~~Answer~~

The proverb runs: "Blood is thicker than water." That is the root of all prejudice, racial included. To keep one's blood pure is an instinct implanted by Nature in man to conserve all that is good in him. In that respect and so far racial prejudice is a virtue because it conserves society. But we do not often see rightly what is good and what is bad and our habit becomes a second nature, so that in the case of race, differences of ~~xxx~~ colour, customs, manners, and religion intensify racial prejudice. Some years ago an American lady, a Professor in one of the Women's colleges there, visited India. I met her and we had a long interview. In the course of our conversation she narrated to me an incident, which I shall describe here as a pointed illustration of how racial prejudices possess us, as it were, instinctively. The American lady met a fellow-passenger on board the steamer carrying her to India. The English lady was coming out to India to join her brother, a military Officer, stationed at Poona in the Bombay Presidency, and to keep home for him. The English lady told the American Professor that she felt so keenly interested in the people of India that on arrival at Poona and during her residence there and elsewhere in India, she was going ~~xxx~~ to move among Indians and try to be friendly, useful, and servicable to them. "But", remarked the American lady, "to be useful and servicable you shall have to overcome your racial prejudice. You will find Indians so different from you in point of colour, habits, customs, and manners; and that may change your mind. Are you prepared to overcome your racial prejudice?" The English lady replied: - "Certainly, I am prepared and I have no prejudice. I mean to rise above all prejudice." A few days after this conversation, the steamer arrived at the port of Aden. There both ladies with other passengers were watching the sight of black Negroes yelling, diving, into the sea, and coming

up to amuse and get money out of ^{the} passengers, as their reward for all their quaint feats in the sea. The English lady, shocked at the sight of the half naked and black Negro boys and men, said to the American lady: "How queer!" The latter asked: - "Why do you say queer? It is queer because it is a new sight to you. You may more properly call it a strange sight but to say it is queer means it is absurd, unnatural, or foolish, but is it so really? Is not your racial prejudice accountable for your view of the sight? Is not your view queer, not the sight." The English lady said to that: "It did not strike me that way." The American lady advised: "It ought to strike you that way or else your racial prejudice will thwart your resolution to be useful, friendly, and sympathetic to the people of India." Racial prejudice is thus the result of differences of colour, customs and habits. The only way to get over it is to educate ourselves, so to say, in what Wordsworth finely calls "the sanctity of nature given to Man" ~~in~~ — ~~in~~

" ^{rr} That kind

Of prepossession without which the soul
 Receives no knowledge that can bring forth good,
 No genuine insight ever comes to her."

VII. To what extent do the Indians admit or deny feelings either of racial superiority or racial inferiority between themselves and other races?

Wm

The bulk of India's people consists of Hindus and Mahomedans. Hindus have from ancient times regarded all other races as Mienchas (a term carrying the same meaning as the word barbarian which the ancient Greeks used of foreigners with a view to exclude them from Greek morality). But the Hindus, notwithstanding that racial prejudice, have been distinguished for their spirit of toleration, so that their feelings of racial superiority have not been of a hostile or even contemptuous character. The Mahomedans of India share the Mahomedan feeling of racial superiority - all those who are not Mahomedans are "infidels". While that is so, it is to the credit of Indians that their feelings of racial superiority have never been intense and aggressive as those of the European races. But modern politics, I am afraid, are tending to breed in Indians that intensity and aggressiveness of racial superiority.



VIII. Are you yourself aware of having any feelings of race consciousness or racial prejudices?

Wm

I am aware of having feelings of race consciousness but I am not, I believe, aware of having any feelings of racial prejudices.

I ought to make myself as clear as possible as to this answer.

By race consciousness I understand the feeling of legitimate pride one has in one's race by reason of its achievements and contribution to the service of mankind without being blind to its blemishes. Racial prejudice I take to mean the conceit one has of one's own race accompanied by contempt ^{for} or hatred of or indifference to the interests of ~~other~~ other races. Race consciousness is loving ^{of} other races as one loves ^{of} one's own

because all are parts of one whole. Racial prejudice is loving one's own race at the expense of other races. When Pasteur, on seeing his country, France, conquered and humiliated by Germany in 1870, felt for his race, and, resolving to raise its prestige in the eyes of the whole world and so to remove that stigma of humiliation, devoted himself, heart and soul, to the cause of medical science and relief for the benefit of the whole human race, and ^{when} at last ^{he} proved one of the world's benefactors, thereby increasing ^{the} honour of his ~~own~~ race, it was race consciousness which prompted him to his glorious task. Bismarck was an instance of racial prejudice - the man of blood and iron who, proud of his Fatherland, worked to make Germany great at the expense of other races.

The prophets of Israel had race consciousness, no race prejudice.

Above all, the finest illustration of race consciousness was given when Jesus uttered: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee! ^{How} often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings, and Ye would not!"

IX. In what respects is the caste problem in India like and unlike the inter-racial problem?

^{how}
Caste in India would seem to have originated in the idea of distinction by colour. That appears from the fact that in ^{those} ~~such~~ of the ancient Hindu Scriptures in which it is mentioned it is designated by the Sanskrit word Varna, meaning "colour". But the idea of colour has in process of time disappeared altogether from the signifi-
cation of caste, which has come to be determined solely by the ^{Hindu} community in which a person is born. So in respect of that signification, the caste problem and the inter-racial problem are alike. Birth is the determining factor of both. In point of prejudice against inter-dining and

inter-marriage, both problems are alike but with this difference that, in the case of ^{the} inter-racial problem, the prejudice is not necessarily sanctioned by law but only by the ^{social} public opinion of the race concerned, whereas the prejudice sanctioned by caste had legal sanction from the state. A man who marries outside his caste - and for that purpose, race is included in the term caste - loses some of his civil rights and his status, and the children by such marriage ^{were} ~~are~~ deemed by law illegitimate. That was the original Hindu law but British enactments have softened its rigours to some extent, so that a Hindu can now marry outside his caste or race without any forfeiture of civil rights. Thus both the caste problem and the inter-racial problem have become alike in that the prejudice against inter-dining and inter-marriage can be enforced only by social but not legal penalties.

While the two problems so far present common features, the caste problem is day by day becoming more easy of solution than the inter-racial problem. In the first place, caste has survived, after so many centuries of its birth, because it has gone on adapting itself quietly and without revolution or the bloodshed of civil wars to the changing conditions of time and circumstance. It has gone on conquering by yielding. The Hindu is nothing if not an adept in compromise - that is his strength in some respects; his weakness in many. Inter-dining and inter-marriages are not ^{treated} ~~looked down~~ with the same attitude of hostility and excommunication and social persecution that they aroused, say, even twenty years ago. The conditions of modern civilization, the play of world forces, and the acuteness of the racial problem both in India and outside where Indians have emigrated and settled, have awakened Hindus to the weakness of their position created by caste distinctions. So caste is losing gradually its old force, whereas the inter-racial problem seems to be gathering strength. In the second

(32)

place, although caste was an institution devised in its inception for the economical arrangements of society on the principle of division of labour, it has since several centuries ceased to have that economical character. It is now merely a matter of religious and social arrangement, whereas the inter-racial problem is day by day becoming more and more a political and economical problem - a struggle between the different races for political power for economical ends, - for food and wealth and over-lordship of the earth.

Chambers and the Spirit of the Age' he said: "Let me tell you —
White's thoughts."

This statement as to race questions will show how these questions
appear to such a mind in India.

In preparation for this book I went to several friends in
Asia, members of different races, asking them for their help.
The letter from one of these, Sri Narayan Chandavarkar, of Bombay,
deserves to be printed in full. It must have been one of the last
documents he prepared. It is dated April 18, 1923 and he died
on May 14, 1923. Sri Narayan was one of the most remarkable and
most honored men in India. His full title and official record ran
thus: ^{High Court} Sri Narayan Chandavarkar, B.A., LL.B., LL.D., Late
Judge of the High Court, Bombay, Ex-Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay,
President of the Bombay Legislative Council.

He was a member of the 'Prarthana Sangh', the most progressive
of Indian reform societies within Hinducism, and a great devotee
of the great Mahatma. But he had strong intellectual and spiritual
sympathies with Christianity. In an expression he declared:

"I am Hindu ———— Reformation."

and some years ago in an address entitled "The Christendom of

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February 1, 1939

Rev. Robert Elliott Speer, D.D.
Lakeville
Connecticut

Dear Dr. Speer:

During the past two or three years, Nazi propaganda in this country has increased to an alarming extent. An effective educational program is necessary to counteract this infiltration of ideas so alien to the principles of our democracy. This fact prompted the formation of the American Council Against Nazi Propaganda, of which I recently accepted the chairmanship.

The Council will include leaders in the various fields of activity in this country. The work of the Council, as indicated in the accompanying outline, will be of a purely educational nature, and will not duplicate the work of any other organization.

I cordially invite you to become a member of this Council. Among those who have already joined are the Reverend Edgar DeWitt Jones, Dr. Walter Damrosch, Thomas Mann, Professor Franz Boas, the Reverend John Haynes Holmes, Judge Dorothy Kenyon, Professor Wm. H. Kilpatrick, John Gunther, Lewis Mumford, Carl Van Doren, Carleton Beals, Professor Paul H. Douglas, Arnold Gingrich, Henry Goddard Leach, Dr. William Allen Neilson, Walter Wanger, Dr. Mary E. Woolley, and Representative John Coffee.

I realize what demands are made upon you. But I am sure you feel, as I do, that the carrying out of the proposed program, for which funds have already been partially provided, is of utmost importance. Your advice and cooperation will be of great value.

Please let me know at your earliest convenience whether we may include you on the Council.

Sincerely yours,

William E. Dodd

William E. Dodd
Chairman

wed:ra

Purpose and Proposed Program of the American Council Against Nazi Propaganda

It is common knowledge that the Nazis spend vast sums each year in every sphere of propaganda, in order to spread anti-democratic doctrines among the American people. The fundamental purpose of the American Council Against Nazi Propaganda is to clarify and interpret Nazi propaganda in this country, and to offset the influence of these alien doctrines by stressing the tenets of our democracy.

To this end the American Council Against Nazi Propaganda has been formed to undertake the following program:-

1. The establishment of a reliable cable service from abroad and a press service in this country (to German-American and American papers). This will assure accurate reporting to the American public of the activities of the Nazis here and abroad, and will offset the effects of the Nazi "Trans-ocean" service.
2. A series of educational radio broadcasts, dramatizing Nazi activities in such a way as to clarify the incompatibility of Nazism with the principles of American democracy. Leading artists of the stage, screen and radio have offered their cooperation for these broadcasts. There will also be periodic radio talks by leading authorities on the subject of Nazi propaganda.
3. Publication of a monthly Anti-Nazi Digest, in magazine form for popular distribution, which will be a compilation of informative articles and editorials from leading journals throughout the world.
4. The distribution of educational material, encouraging "Good Neighbor" and pro-democratic policies, in South and Central America, and wherever else Nazi propaganda appears.
5. The editing and circulating of additional publications revealing specific Nazi activities in the United States.

PROVISIONAL
COUNCIL AGAINST ANTI-SEMITISM

LINCOLN BUILDING, NEW YORK CITY

TELEPHONE: VANDERBILT 6-5584

December 19, 1938.

Dr. Robert E. Spear
Federal Council of Churches in America
122 East 22nd Street
New York City

Dear Dr. Spear:

Members of the Provisional Council Against Anti-Semitism met, for its first meeting in New York City on Thursday, December 8th, as dinner guests of Mr. George Gordon Battle. Present were:

Dr. Henry A. Atkinson
Senator W. Warren Barbour
Miss Katherine D. Blake
George Gordon Battle
Frank E. Gannett
Senator Theodore F. Green
Rev. John Haynes Holmes
Dr. Eduard C. Lindeman
Jeremiah T. Mahoney

Dr. Christian F. Reisner
Monsignor John A. Ryan
Lieutenant-Governor Charles Poletti
J. David Stern
Dr. Rexford Guy Tugwell
Walter White
William L. White
Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur
Michael Williams
Dr. Stephen S. Wise

Mr. Battle presided.

Senator Barbour proposed broadening the scope of the Council to permit it to combat racial and religious prejudice directed against all groups in America. After a full discussion the suggestion of Lieutenant-Governor Poletti of New York, that the name of the organization be changed to Council Against Intolerance in America, was unanimously adopted.

The statement of purpose which would define the objectives and aims of the Council and provide a platform on which the Council's program could be based, was agreed upon by all present. The statement follows:

Rooted in the soil of freedom, this nation was founded by men and women who fled persecution and oppression to form a commonwealth based on religious liberty and human equality. These principles - embodied in our constitution, and cherished by succeeding generations - are the most precious heritage of the American people.

Today they are menaced by wide-spread organized attempts to introduce racial and religious prejudice in the United States. Now directed against our fellow-citizens who are Jews, such prejudice is an entering wedge for further intolerance and bigotry against other groups. It strikes at the foundations of democracy. It cannot be ignored. It must be exposed; it must be combatted; it must be destroyed.

Dr. Robert E. Speer

December 19, 1938.

To that end the Council Against Intolerance in America, has come into being. Non-sectarian and non-political in character, the Council includes representatives of all faiths and is drawn from all sections of the United States. It recognizes the need for factual analysis of, and vigorous resistance to all those forces within and without our country, which foment intolerance here. It reaffirms the American tradition of religious equality and human brotherhood. It summons the American people to safeguard that tradition, and thereby preserve and strengthen our common liberties.

As a result of a full discussion concerning the various activities to be pursued by the Council, proposals were adopted to establish:

A Research Bureau to provide relevant data on and factual analysis of organizations fomenting racial and religious hatred in the United States;

An Information Service for the purpose of providing authoritative refutation of propaganda designed to foster prejudice and intolerance;

An Educational Department to prepare and distribute through the press, the radio and moving pictures, material designed to promote a positive concept of religious equality and racial harmony in this country.

A Washington Bureau which will keep the Council informed of organizations fostering intolerance with national headquarters there, and which will correlate and stimulate activities at the capital designed to promote racial and religious harmony.

Mr. William L. White, the Executive Secretary, introduced a budget for the required funds with which to make this program possible. This was adopted.

Mr. George Gordon Battle, Senator-elect Barbour and Mr. William Allen White were elected co-chairmen of the Council, and were authorized to select a treasurer and an administrative committee.

The business of the meeting was concluded at 10:30 P.M.

For the benefit of each member of the Council, a full list of all those serving on it is appended.

Respectfully submitted,



William L. White

WLW:MB

I. The Origin and Nature of Race.

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Race a social institution, an outgrowth
of family.

Inheritance, environment and education.

Races are free for progress.

The criteria of race.

The classification of races.

Difficulties of classification.

1. Intra-race more marked often than inter-race
divisions.
2. The absence of pure races.
3. Unity of man clearer than his diversity.

Origins and history of race consciousness.

Among Greeks, Romans and Hebrews.

II. The Idea of Race Superiority

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Each race convinced of its own superiority.

The idea of racial inequality

In the case of the Jew and the Negro.

Errors lying behind these ideas.

1. The assumption of the validity of our own standards.
2. The assumption that backwardness and inferiority
are synonymous.
3. The idea of defective race- character.
4. The idea of the fixedness of race character.
5. The identification of race and civilization.
6. The subordination of individuals to the theory of
race determinism.

Four corrective conclusions

1. No race doom to inferiority
2. A general equality of racial capacity, at least
in the case of individuals.

3. Service the only basis of racial prestige.

4. Mankind one in communicable intelligence
and in associated achievement.

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The Conception of race as mother.

The enrichment of humanity through race.

Racial self-expression, self-determination and
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Racial diversity both a relief and a discipline.

The contribution of the various races to the common character and
wealth of mankind.

Christianity to be revealed by its application to
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IV. The Evils and abuses of Race.

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India a picture of race division dominating
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The exploitation and injury of weaker races.

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Opium and liquor

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 Latin America, and in the
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 - (2) Equality of economic opportunity.
 - (3) Political equality.
 - (4) Educational opportunity.
 - (5) Facts as to Negro populations and its distribution.
 - (6) The question of social equality.
2. Immigration and the race problems.
3. The Mexicans and the Japanese in the United States.
4. The Indians and the Jews. Are the Jews a race?
5. Our relation to Latin America.
6. The race tangle in Europe.
7. Immigration problems in Canada, Australia and Africa.
8. Japan's race problems.
9. South Africa.

Susie A. Pinder

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Mr. Speer

June 18, 1924

My dear Mr. Speer:

In response to your request for certain figures in the Census returns for India I give the following:

Total Population of India (1921).....	318,942,480
" " " (1911).....	<u>315,156,396</u>
Increase.....	3,786,084
Percentage of Increase.....	1.2

Total Anglo-Indian Population (1921).	113,090
" " " (1911).	<u>100,451</u>
Increase.....	12,639
Percentage of Increase.....	12.6

Yours very truly,

Susie A. Pinder

Will W. Alexander

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MR. M. W. LEE
DR. JOHN M. GANDY

Commission

ON

Interracial Cooperation

416 PALMER BUILDING

ATLANTA, GA.

February 22, 1923.

Dr. Robert E. Speer, Pres.,
Federal Council of Churches,
105 East 22nd Street,
New York City.

Dear Dr. Speer:

So far as we know the bibliography issued by the Federal Council of Churches is the best book available. Dr. Haynes can furnish you this. Dr. Weatherford in Nashville is endeavoring to assemble there a library of the original documents on various phases of this question. He already has considerable material and you would probably find it worth while to correspond with him.

Three novels have been written recently which reflect with some accuracy the worst aspects of our race relations in the south. "Their Birth Right", "White and Black" and "Nigger"

Probably the least studied phase of race relations in America is the economic. Some work has been done by certain graduate students- notably Dr. T. J. W oofter of our staff. He did the work for his graduate degree at Columbia in this field. I am asking him to write you fully regarding any studies or sources which may be known to him.

We have in our files the records of the Negro conferences which were conducted immediately after the Armistice in 1918. The findings of these conferences represent the thinking of a representative group of Negroes on various questions that were agitating their minds at that time and which to a large degree are still present.

Page 2.

We also have rather voluminous minutes of the early meetings of our Commission. In addition to these we have confidential reports made in blank form by the men whom we first sent into the counties when we were trying to get our work started. The reports are in blank form and cover a great many things. Dr. Haynes spent some time going over them and found that there was most valuable material scattered here and there thru them. He had hoped to spend more time on them. It would require a good deal of painstaking study to get the worthwhile matter out of them. It is voluminous and you might not find in it just what you want but if you desire we would be glad to lend any or all of it to you.

Yours very truly,

Will W. Alexander

Will W. Alexander.

WWA.E

June, 1922

BOOK REVIEW SERVICE

Research Department
Commission on the Church and Social Service
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America
105 East 22nd Street, New York, N. Y.

This Book Review Service is purely an educational project in which a number of interested persons cooperate. Responsibility for opinions expressed is borne solely by the persons who sign the reviews.

THE TREND OF THE RACES, by George E. Haynes. New York, Council of Women for Home Missions and Missionary Education Movement, 1922. Cloth 75 cents; paper 50 cents.

The authorship of this useful volume is enough to secure a wide reading for it, if that were not already secured by the fact of its adoption as a mission study book by the foremost agencies of missionary education in America. Dr. Haynes is well equipped academically and by temperament and spirit to undertake this, his first considerable literary task since becoming Secretary of the Commission on the Church and Race Relations of the Federal Council of Churches.

The book presents the race situation in America as second to none among those outstanding social problems from which there is no escape, and says in substance, "There are two ways of meeting it; we must take our choice." The first is the way of the past -- suspicion, hatred, tyranny, violence. The second is the Christian method, based on mutual respect, sympathy, understanding, and practical helpfulness.

Dr. Haynes is not a mere advocate contending for his race. To be sure he strongly asserts the moral requirement and the practical necessity of abandoning all notions of Caucasian superiority and of corresponding inferiority of the Negro race. Yet he writes in fine restraint as one content to state the results of scientific research. His chief concern is correctly to interpret his people and to serve both races by an evaluation of Negro achievement and a portrayal of Negro life that will make easier and more fruitful the friendly interracial contacts that he seeks to promote. His book reflects a justifiable pride in the record of his race in achievement, in good citizenship, and in patriotic service.

In the portrayal of Negro progress since emancipation, the average reader will find much to surprise him in the scientific, literary, and artistic achievements of Negroes. Moreover, their progress is not confined to occasional and exceptional demonstrations. "In manufacturing and mechanical pursuits in the twenty years between 1890 and 1910, Negroes increased about 165.3 per cent. In trade and transportation during the same period, they increased about 12.95 per cent." It is estimated that in 1920 they operated more than 55,000 business enterprises. There are 250 Negro newspapers, some of which have a very large circulation. If the Negro's achievements are limited when viewed in the light of his numbers, it is apparent that the reason is to be found in the staggering burden of social and economic disadvantage that he still carries.

The aspirations of the Negro as seen in the several political and social groupings that are now clearly distinguishable, are set forth by the author with the fidelity and objectiveness of one who is too broad in vision and in interest and too

scientific in his approach to be absorbed by any one school. Yet while constructive in his thought and optimistic in his outlook, he does not minimize the ominous character of the words he quotes from a Negro porter: "We have been through the war and given everything, even our lives, and now we're going to stop bein' beat up."

A careful survey is given of the agencies, and an inventory of the most fruitful forms of contact, that are to be counted on for a Christian solution of the American race problem. Prominent among them are the churches and the many contacts growing out of their activities. The Negro is declared to have two institutions peculiarly his own - his secret society and his church. The development of the Negro church was an inevitable response to white exclusiveness. The varied educational proposals which the author builds up about the church life of his people indicates what may be expected from the new Commission on the Church and Race Relations in the way of practical effort.

F. E. J.

NEGRO FOLK RHYMES, WISE AND OTHERWISE, WITH A STUDY, by Thomas W. Talley. New York, Macmillan Company. \$2.50

These are real folk rhymes gathered and reduced to writing with as little editorial alteration as possible by a painstaking collector. This is the first compilation of Negro secular rhymes. Heretofore we have thought of the Negro compositions as limited to religious songs in the "spirituals".

Professor Talley has performed a service for the Negro people, as well as a service to social students, in presenting this evidence of the Negro's persistent "art impulse under most oppressive conditions". The author's analysis of the collection is no less interesting than the rhymes themselves. He points out that the rhythmic technique of the Negro is not by measurement of poetic feet but by imaginary musical measures usually in $2/2$ or $2/4$ time, "with a given number of words to a beat".

These rhymes contain expressions of the great pathos of Negro suffering, the turn of humor in the "good-natured drollery and sparkling nonsense", and here and there the penetrating vision of love and wisdom.

The author points out two other unique features of these ballads: first, rhymes are often given before the first bars of a musical composition as an aid in getting the musical ideas over; or a rhyming song and instrumental musical chord are alternated, the one making clear the other; secondly, some of the rhymes use words or phrases to be repeated as parts of stanzas as a means of giving a stage setting or, so to speak, curtain direction, for the incident described or related.

Probably the most striking fact is that most of the experiences through which these people passed are recorded in their rhymes. Their rhymes and songs grew out of their experience. There are dance rhymes, play rhymes, love and courtship rhymes, nursery rhymes, hunting, harvest and drinking songs, rhymes expressing their attitude toward white people, Biblical and religious rhymes, rhymes describing their work experience including field calls of fellowship from laborers on one plantation to the laborers on another. Indeed, all the range of folk ballads is here illustrated, and some not found among other peoples. For instance, while this is not a full demonstration of the Negro's attitude during slavery, the rhyme, "I'd rather be a nigger than a poo' white man," shows the current of thought among the masses when the trying bitter condition of the slave might have made him wish to be white to escape his oppression.

We may not agree with the author's explanation about the African origin of the animal subjects of the nature rhymes, but it is a striking fact that with few

exceptions the nature group of rhymes deals mainly with stories about animals - the rabbit, the fox, the deer, the bear, the quail, the owl, the frog, the jaybird, the rat, etc. - and about few other nature subjects. Here are typical samples:

1. "De jaybird jump from lim' to lim'
An' he tell Br'er Rabbit to do lak him.
Br'er Rabbit say to de cunnin' elf:
'You jes' want me to fall an' kill myself.'"
2. "Dat squir'l, he's a cunnin'
thing;
He tote a bushy tail.
He jes' lug off Uncle Sambo's
co'n
And heart it on a rail."

The following is a description of slave experience:

"Way down yon'er in de cotton fiel',
Ev'ry week one peck o' meal.
Way down yon'er ole Mosser swar';
Holler at you, an' pitch, an' r'ar;
Wid cat o'nine tails
Wid pen o'nine nails
Tee whing, teebing
An' ev'rything.'"

Here is a sample of expression of self-reliance:

"I'se jes' as innerpennunt as a pig on ice,
Gwiner git up ag'in if I slips down twice,
If I can't git up, I can jes' lie down,
I don't want no niggers to be h'pin me 'roun.'"

Here is part of what seems to be a spontaneous outburst of simple, lyrical love impulse:

"She hug me, an' she kiss me, She wrung my han' an' cried, She said I wus de sweetes' thing Dat ever lived or died.	"I tole her dat I love' her, Dat my love wus bed-cord strong; Den I axed w'en she'd have me, An' she jes' say, 'Go 'long.'"
--	--

This is indeed a valuable collection of Negro folk rhymes which gives us deeper insight into the soul of the American Negro. We need now a collection and setting to score of many of the secular melodies that have accompanied many of these rhymes to enlarge our information in this most valuable and interesting field of American life and race relations. G.E.H.

UNWRITTEN HISTORY by Levi J. Coppin. Philadelphia, Pa., A.M.E. Book Concern, \$2.00

This is an autobiography of a Negro, born of free parents, in the slave territory of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. He has given a graphic pen picture as an eyewitness of the inside life of Negroes, both slave and free families, in a small town and farming community during the last fifteen years of the slave regime including the Civil War period. To this he has added an illuminating account of the transition of the past fifty years as he has seen from "within the veil" of the Negro world; for he has been a teacher, preacher, pastor and Bishop of the African Methodist Church during that time. He has lived and worked among his people, North and South, during half a century.

We have had accounts of travelers, slave-holders, abolitionists and other

white people who described these conditions, but except for a few glimpses given by Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington in their autobiographies we have no personal account of the inner side of Negro life. Bishop Coppin has supplied this gap in an admirable way. He depicts the home life of free Negroes of the period giving intimate account of their houses, the relation of parents and children, their training, their relation to the slaves and to white people of the town. He describes the churches, teaching of children and slaves in secrecy from the slave owners. He delineates the outstanding Negro personalities, slave and free, who won the respect of all including white slave masters.

He describes the coming of the news of emancipation and the actions of various types of people; the coming of the first teacher; the eagerness of the people, young and old, to learn to read, write, and "cipher"; and the arrival of a representative of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, a Negro denomination, when the local church severed its relation with the white church and became a part of an independent Negro organization.

The first distinguished visitors to the Negro community of the town brought many encouraging ideas to the newly emancipated people, who "had been shut up all our lives in our narrow little Neck, and all else was measured by it. With us the richest man, (in the world) was the richest man in Sassafras Neck".

Through many other incidents and experiences of the Reconstruction period and since, the narrator gives new light on a "unique chapter in the world's history that is unwritten".

G.E.H.

IN THE VANGUARD OF A RACE, by Mrs. L. H. Hammond. New York, Published jointly by Council of Women for Home Missions, and the Missionary Education Movement. Postpaid, cloth 75 cents; paper, 50 cents.

A southern white woman with a national viewpoint has prepared for young people these character studies of typical Negroes selected out of a large number who have achieved. All of the characters except those of Booker T. Washington the educator, and Joseph Cotter, Jr., a poet, are still living.

"The Story of Service" of the educator, is familiar. The point brought out here is that he is the greatest star in a constellation. "The Doctor of Medicine" is a story of a young Negro mill hand whose boyish dream of a larger service came true. "Saving an Idea" is a record of a Negro woman who dreamed of a school started and supported by Negro people themselves when she found herself kept out of a position through petty politics in public schools controlled by white people. An educated "City Pastor" has built a remarkable institutional church for his people in the North. His biography is no less interesting than the story of "A Believer in Happiness", who carried the early training she received as an adopted member of a cultivated white family wherever she went in later life among her own people. The account of the pioneer Negro farm demonstration agent and his wide service among Negro farmers over the South is set along-side a story of a Negro, "A Woman Banker", who gathered the small sums of a fraternal organization to build a big business.

An inspiring tale is told of a Negro boy, "A Composer by Divine Right", who contracted pneumonia because he stood outside of a white home on a freezing winter night to hear a great artist sing; later he drew crowds to hear his own voice, and many of his arrangements of Negro spirituals and his art songs have been used by leading artists. A Negro woman missionary from a little Georgia town has become "A Light in a Dark Place" in Angola, West Africa. An emancipated Negro preacher beginning in the early eighties to assist his rural neighbors to lay "Sure Foundations" in

thrift and prosperous farm homes, gives an indication of the many types of local community leaders unheralded and unsung. The final brief biography of a young Negro poet who sang, as did his father before him, and whose voice was stilled ere he crossed the threshold of manhood, is an example of many others who are saying to the world today:

"Lord, I do not hate,
I am hated.
I scourge no one,
I am scourged.
I covet no lands,
My lands are coveted.
I mock no peoples,
My peoples are mocked.
- And, brother, what shall you say?"

The author has an illuminating introduction recounting the ascent of the Anglo-Saxon from his free booter pirate ancestors to the production of Christian leaders and world statesmen. The sketch shows the struggle which has gone on through the centuries between the impulses of cruelty and plunder and those of mercy and altruism. Although this outline does not give a strong enough presentation of the African background of good-will and ancient civilization which modern researches are bringing to light, it is a clear picture of the background of the English-speaking race and is a good foreword to the prophetic character of this volume. G.E.H.

PRINCIPLES OF THE NEW ECONOMICS, by Lionel D. Edie. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1922. \$2.75 net.

This admirable book, in some respects twenty-five years in advance of its time, commences with the significance of psychology in economics which is defined as "the science of human nature in its relations to the ordinary business of life". It analyzes the motives and satisfactions of men, both employer and worker, in their dealings with wealth, the processes and organizations by which wealth is controlled, and the forces and directions of improvement and change. The author goes on to discuss human adaptation to economic environment; the scientific basis of economics; labor's part in production; the iron law of wages, the wages fund, commodity and productivity theories of wages. He proposes, although he does not work out any details, a "pluralistic" theory, interpreting it as "the resultant of a wider variety of influences", among which are to be included standard of living, incentive, bargaining power, habit and custom.

He describes labor as looking upon management as inefficient, upon property owners as "engaged in the game of getting something for nothing", upon the market as "something rigged and manipulated by obscure strategists", upon finance as "some secret far-reaching process of scheming", upon the law as "not on its side" and all too often "unfair", and upon the public as "more interested in peace than in a square deal to labor".

He deplores the influx of illiterate and unintelligent immigrants, "incompatible with Americans in intellectual equipment and in standards of life". He discusses briefly three major types of economic policy toward aliens:- Americanization, unionization and restriction; and touches on the Malthusian principle. He takes up in detail the rights and duties of ownership, the technique of management, the principles and strategy of markets, the services and dangers of money and credit; and finally deals with public control, economic radicalism and economic democracy.

R. G.

HUMAN NATURE AND CONDUCT, An Introduction to Social Psychology, by John Dewey. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1922. \$2.25

Professor Dewey starts with the conviction that habit is of fundamental importance in social action. He believes therefore that "an understanding of habit and of different types of habit is the key to social psychology, while the operation of impulse and intelligence gives the key to individualized mental activity. But they are secondary to habit so that mind can be understood in the concrete only as a system of beliefs, desires and purposes which are formed in the interaction of biological aptitudes with a social environment."

These three factors, habit, impulse and intelligence, are each discussed in this order, in their relation, respectively, to conduct. The fact that morality is largely concerned with the control of human nature makes us aware of what resists such attempts at control. Hence the various theories to account for this resistance: the theory that human nature is essentially evil, for example, rebellious against authority; good people are those who make no trouble for the persons in authority. There is a difference between an authority which has its origin in deliberate design and a rule which simply takes advantage of conditions for the sake of an advantage to accrue to the ruler. When men had no scientific knowledge of physical nature they either passively submitted to it as authority for their conduct, or sought to control it by magic. Even now our knowledge of human nature in comparison with physical sciences is rudimentary, and our knowledge of morals which are concerned with the health, efficiency and happiness of human beings, is correspondingly elementary, hence we are bound to consider the "ethical change involved in positive respect for human nature when the latter is associated with scientific knowledge."

The author proceeds to discuss, from this point of view, the prevalent types of morality; conventional morality, "in which the fatal thing is to be conspicuous"; the morality of those whose "only standard is success, putting things over, getting things done"; the sentimental type of morality, in which sensitiveness is united with desire; and the morality which is equivalent to a spiritual egotism. This raises the most practical of all moral questions, the nature of freedom and the means of achieving.

It is against this artificial separation of morality from the rest of human nature, the separation of human nature in its moral aspects from the rest of nature, that Professor Dewey ardently protests. His conviction is that "morals have to do with all activity into which alternative possibilities enter". "Only deliberate action, conduct into which reflective choice enters, is distinctively moral, for only then does there enter the question of better or worse." In discussing the problem of freedom, he suggests three elements of importance: 1. Efficiency in action, ability to carry out plans, the absence of cramping and thwarting obstacles. 2. Capacity to vary plans, to change the course of action, to experience novelties. 3. The power of desire and choice to be factors in events.

Finally, morality is social and concerned with actualities of existence, not with ideals, ends and obligations independent of actualities. "But there are enormous differences of better or worse in the quality of what is social. Ideal morals begin with the perception of these differences. ... To foster and develop this spirit (of scientific outlook and inquiry) is the social obligation of the present because of its urgent need."

This rapid summary will indicate the range of the discussion in this notable book. All who are interested in finding a scientific basis for social psychology will find here a rewarding treatment of some of the fundamental problems of social control.

B.S.W.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM? by James E. Le Rossignol. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1921. \$2.00

The author, Dean of the College of Business Administration of the University of Nebraska, aims at explaining and criticizing the doctrines and proposals of "scientific socialism". He classifies socialists into the instinctive, the utopian and the scientific, the latter being "the only socialist worthy of the name". In the scientific socialist one finds Hegel's philosophy, Ricardo's economics, and Darwin's biology combined to produce "a system of social theory the most remarkable that the world has seen".

Le Rossignol asks how it is, that if socialism is a science, socialists display so little of that openness of mind, love for truth, indifference to contradiction, and sublime patience, so characteristic of the true scientific spirit. He considers socialism as only a sort of faith, or religion; socialists have unbounded faith in man and predict for him a brilliant destiny.

As orthodox doctrines of socialism the author lists the theory of economic determinism; the labor cost theory of value; the iron law of wages; the theory of increasing misery; the theory of surplus value obtained by exploitation or robbery; the theory of crises; the law of capital concentration; the idea of the approaching elimination of the middle class; the inauguration of the social revolution by the proletariat; equitable distribution of product so as to abolish poverty and all the other "evils of capitalism"; and the advent of an era of peace, prosperity and happiness until the end of time. He argues that the wage earners are not the sole creators of wealth and productive ideas, that the labor-cost theory of value is unsound, the condition of the working class steadily improving, and the middle class not disappearing, but increasing in numbers and wealth.

He shows that Plato realized the impossibility of his ideal republic and wrote a second book describing a state that he thought might be successful with human beings as they were. He pictures St. Thomas Aquinas as the first Christian socialist and quotes the Socialist Bebel as saying "we aim in the domain of politics at republicanism, in the domain of economics at socialism, and in the domain of what is today called religion at atheism". He sketches state socialism, the industrial union, the I.W.W., guild socialism, and communism; considers socialism in France as revolutionary, idealistic and anarchistic; in England cautious, compromising, experimental; in Belgium largely cooperative; in Spain and Italy extreme and violent; in Russia revolutionary, visionary and anarchistic.

The Marxian theory of value, the law of increasing misery and theory of surplus value, are given illuminating special chapters, as are the socialistic economics of machinery, the theory of crises, Marx' theories of the concentration of capital and of class struggle. Next follows a discussion of the final act in the drama of economic determinism, the social revolution, and a chapter on the dictatorship of the communist party. The book is well-written. Socialists of every type should read it. R.G.

WILLIAM MORRIS AND THE EARLY DAYS OF THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT, by J. Bruce Glasier. New York, Longmans, Green & Company. 1921. \$2.25

To those interested in the life and work of the author of "The Earthly Paradise" and "Jason" this work is more appealing than to those attracted by Socialism in any one of its many phases. The work gives some notion of the origin of the Socialist League, referring to the early work of Owen, St. Simon, Fourier, Fichte, Weitling and others, and practically ignores Marx. It gives an outline of the

gradual changes that led from the Fellowship of the New Life, through the Fabian Society to the Democratic Federation and finally to the Socialist League. It quotes Morris as opposed to the Hyndman-Champion policy on the ground that it was un-socialistic and inopportune because it derived its funds from the Tories. It shows the work that Morris did at a time when "controversial writings, such for example as those of Rusk, Mill and even Matthew Arnold were rarely on the catalogues of libraries accessible to the working class" -- which class, however, now-a-days is commencing to be much better read than we of the "white-collar class".

Glasier contrasts Hyndman and Morris as lecturers most graphically; quotes Morris as neither understanding nor caring for the Marx theory of value, but simply wanting to establish a "system of cooperation where there shall be no masters or slaves, but where every one will live and work jollily together as neighbors and comrades for the equal good of all".

Glasier records his first visit to Kelmscott House, charming in its simplicity and beauty. He pictures Morris when arguing as in a sort of prophecy against the scarlet woman of civilization and relates that the manager of the Morris art works lost an order for some proposed church decorations by having added 102 to his bid because a certain item was "a wholly unnecessary and inexcusable extravagance at a time when thousands of poor people in this so-called Christian country are in want of food".

Morris aimed at "a complete revolution in social conditions", not at reformation, but at abolishment; "at socialism or Communism, not Anarchism". He did not "want either laws or customs to be too rigid, certainly not oppressive at all", and reckoned "customs if they are bad customs, to be more oppressive and difficult to get rid of than political laws". Without saying that we could do without coal, he would say that "we could do with less than half of what we use now, if we lived properly and produced only really useful, good and beautiful things".

Glasier portrays Morris in the various relations of life -- as guest and companion, and as campaigning at Hammersmith, with many intimate, personal touches tracing his activities for the socialist movement until his death which was recorded in the author's diary as follows: "The sun of my Socialist firmament had gone out. It seemed as though the colour and music had gone out of my life also.... To me he was the greatest man in the world." His whole conception of life, the author tells us, consisted in "fellowship, in doing things to make oneself and one's fellows happy, his hatred of cruelty and oppression, sordidness and ugliness in every form, was, if not religion itself, at least that without which religion itself becomes an illogical and unfeeling pietism or pretence."

An appendix treats of the "Commonweal", a journal which Morris financed and edited, and gives a number of interesting letters from this remarkable reformer.

R.G.

PULLING TOGETHER, by John T. Broderick with introduction by Charles P. Steinmetz. Schenectady, New York, Robson & Adees. 1922. \$1.00

This book is dedicated "to employers and employees alike who help each other and the public to see a soul in industry".

Dr. Steinmetz, in his happy little Introduction, defines the plan outlined by the author as one "which in one form or other is rapidly growing in favor and in many instances where it has been honestly tried has led to increased cooperation".

The little book is largely in dialogue, semi-colloquial in form. The principal protagonist is a manufacturer, who points out as a novelty in the plan that his concern has adopted "the recognition it gives to an important elemental fact which has been overlooked or obscured by controversy". He claims that whatever the nature of the functions that those exercise who are engaged in industry, or the services they perform, their interests should be identical and their relations harmonious, that the autocratic exercise of power "must of course be as futile in industry as it is elsewhere". It is and always has been, a failure, and given time enough it is self-destructive. Ancient Persia is used as an example.

"The employee representation calls above all other things for light -- for the kind of guidance that comes from a marshaling, sorting and weighing of simple facts; it requires the substitution of reason for bickering and, aside from the force of reason and of good example, dispenses with force in any form; and therefore its effect must be to prevent the development of autocratic tendencies in any one." He characterizes autocracy as "a coarse weed that is indigenous in a variety of climates". He considers the methods of the labor unions as clumsy, and expects them some day to "discard the autocratic tactics that make them obnoxious". They are destined either to perish because their mission has been fulfilled, or to survive with improved formulas. Lack of wise leadership seems to be their chief drawback. The employers' triumph in strikes was always achieved at some cost, often enormous, both in money and in resulting resentments which persist and make it easy for trouble-makers to precipitate another strike.

This manufacturer considers that the term "collective bargaining" has made intercourse between corporations and their employes odious; and thinks that "a bargain implies an advantage gained by some one at the expense of some one else", which is a quibble. The reforms introduced by him were due to recognition of his management's faults. He calls for humility on the manager's part. His system is a mechanism for the promotion of frank intercourse concerning matters of mutual concern. His 30,000 workers are divided into groups of 400 having closely related kinds of labor, each group electing three representatives. A like number is appointed by the management and an Executive Council is elected from these groups. This manufacturer recognizes the importance of the foreman class, as causing much good or harm according as it is or is not properly instructed. "The heterogeneous groups of human beings known inclusively as the public have no nominal representation on our shop committees. The state of the industrial exploiter . . . is almost as precarious nowadays as that of a card sharp or highwayman." The employer calls for "a distinct branch of science through which human relations would be dealt with as the mechanical engineer deals with metallurgical and other problems, and approves of share-holding by employes". R.G.

CAREERS FOR WOMEN, by Catherine Filene. New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920.
\$4.00

This book by Catherine Filene, Director of the Intercollegiate Vocational Guidance Association of Boston, is a symposium on vocations open to women, by women who have won success in the careers described by them. This is the first time there has been collected in one volume information on wage-earning opportunities, open to trained young women, and it is a revelation to discover how many possibilities there are, and how many of them are little known to the rank and file of young women who are seeking an opportunity for self-support. In the Table of Contents the occupations are grouped alphabetically -- i.e., accounting, advertising, architecture etc. - and the entries in each group are in alphabetical order so that reference may be had directly to any occupation about which information may be desired.

The thirty-two main heads contain over one-hundred fifty entries ranging from dog-raising, jewelry-making, and style expert, to pageantry, surgery and politics. While each vocation is described by a different author, each follows a fairly uniform plan of treatment covering a description of the occupation, preparation necessary, financial return, qualifications desirable for success, advantages and disadvantages, and the extent of the occupation (i.e., supply and demand).

The field is fairly well covered in this collection and the information included should be a part of the mental equipment of all engaged in vocational guidance. E.L.L.

OPIATE ADDICTION: ITS HANDLING AND TREATMENT, by Edward Huntington Williams. New York, Macmillan Company, 1922. \$1.50

The popular impression that the Harrison anti-narcotic law was a hastily-conceived statute rushed through as an emergency measure is characterized as entirely false. Its restrictions upon physicians were not only formulated but sanctioned by themselves and their associations.

But fortunately there are more addicts today than in 1914, by reason of illicit traffic in narcotics. The law is fundamentally defective in that it regards the habit simply as a crime; whereas the addict is physically and mentally abnormal, his abnormality revealing itself only when the necessary stabilizer is withdrawn. Our attitude toward him is incorrect, as it is toward the victim of general paresis, the result of venereal vice -- also a self-imposed condition -- since effort is directed toward the alleviation of the physical condition and too little attention is given to any attempt to stabilize the patient.

Curtailling the use of opium "our most useful and most important drug would cause untold suffering among countless numbers of innocent persons afflicted with painful diseases", these far out-numbering the addicts. Narcotic clinics have proved helpful. The author suggests putting the whole narcotic problem unreservedly into the hands of the U.S. Public Health Service. He defines the nature of "opiate addiction" as a definite pathological condition", and to be treated as such by the medical profession. He describes at length and with citations from actual case histories the most satisfactory methods of treatment -- the gradual reduction and the rapid withdrawal methods, giving in detail the symptoms of the patients concerned, the medication to be used, and the course of treatment to be followed. A useful little hand book. R.G. and E.L.L.

Note: The July and August issues of the Book Review Service will be combined and will appear in August.

For Immediate Release

Federal Council of the Churches
of Christ in America
105 East 22nd Street, New York, N.Y.

To the Editor: This may be used
as a signed article or otherwise
as you choose.

THE CHURCHES AS AVENUES OF INTERRACIAL GOODWILL.

by

George E. Haynes, Secretary,
Commission on the Church and Race Relations,
Federal Council of Churches

Race problems are religious problems and require the application of Christian ideals. The relations of the white and Negro people of America bring concretely to us today the problems of applying brotherly goodwill, understanding, and Christian cooperation in race relations and abolishing the evils growing out of violence and exploitation.

The Christian churches of America are the organized channels through which the greatest expression of the ideals of such interracial goodwill can find practical application in the community life of the two races. It is fitting, therefore, that the Churches observe Race Relations Sunday, as they will do Sunday February 11, and give special attention to the ideals of brotherhood for which they stand. On such a day we may plan how those ideals may be more effectively translated into cooperative action in our communities.

The Churches have great organized resources at their command for this service. In the first place, the Negro churches are by far the greatest agency we have in America for influencing the life of the Negro people. Today there are about 40,000 Negro churches with nearly 5,000,000 members; they own property valued at more than \$80,000,000. In 1918 there were over 35,000 Negro ministers. One of the striking facts about the Negro church organizations is that more than eight tenths of the Negro church members are enrolled in distinctly Negro denominations. Two of those denominations are more than one hundred years old and two are about fifty years old. All of them are managed, supported, and controlled by Negroes. There are more than 6000 Negro churches

with over half a million members in denominations of white and colored constituents.

Negro churches have developed many of the outstanding leaders in the history of the race. Such men as Richard Allen, John Stewart, James Varick, Alexander Crummell, Henry M. Tanner, Isaac Lane, L. H. Holsey, J. C. Price, E. C. Morris, and W. G. Parks are part of the vanguard of a great company of men of mark in the religious and social history of America yet to be written. The Negro church has been and is today the great socializing and elevating agency of the Negro people. Their churches are life blood to the group. Through them they are giving expression to a type of goodwill and neighborliness that needs to be met only half way to be fruitful of a brighter day between the races in America.

In the second place, there is no brighter page in the history of the Christian Church than the record of some of the great denominations made up mainly of white churchmen of America. From the days when the Quakers of Pennsylvania held that no Christian could conscientiously keep their black brothers in bondage, from the time when the missionary societies of the several denominations began to spend millions for the education of the freedmen, to the present day, there have been thousands of white churchmen who have sacrificed, worked, and prayed that justice and goodwill should obtain between the races. They have looked forward to this day when their darker brethren might be received upon terms of Christian fellowship. The great size and value of the church buildings and parish houses, the millions of the members and the scope of the far-reaching activities of the various denominations are too well known to require repetition here.

What are some of the things before the churches in this situation? Among others, three tasks stand out: First, the churches should by all the means at their command hold up the Christian ideal of relations between the races. By precept and example the churches can lead their own members to believe that mutual respect, friendly cooperation, and positive goodwill - the Christian way - really enable men and women to work out whatever problems confront them. Second, the churches have the task of arousing the conscience not only of church members but of the citizens of the Nation about their obligations and responsibilities for their neighbors, white and black. Third, the churches have a responsibility for putting down the evils that threaten our life and our liberty and the peaceful relations between the races. Chief among such evils today is lynching. Mob murder mocks Christian ideals. The mobbing and lynching of men and women flouts the very principle of human brotherhood for which the churches stand and is a menace to the ideals they proclaim. On Race Relations Sunday white and Negro churches will exchange visitors and speakers; they will be reminded of these things all may share in doing. At this time we need to reiterate that the churches have a strategic opportunity to demonstrate under most favorable conditions that Christian goodwill can and does solve the conflicts of interests between races. The relation of the white and Negro races in America furnishes unique conditions for such demonstration.

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March 7, 1923.

Dr. Robert E. Speer
 156 Fifth Avenue
 New York City.

Dear Dr. Speer:

The population bulletins of the 1920 Census give figures of Negro population in northern and western states showing the net increase between 1910-20 and showing total number of those living in 1920 who were born in southern states above the number born in southern states in 1910. There are no figures available by years. The nearest to an estimate of migration by years previous to the 1920 census is given in two of my articles which THE SURVEY carried January 4, 1918 and May 4, 1918, entitled "The Negro Moves North;" also "Negro Migration 1916-18" by Henderson H. Donald, in THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO HISTORY, vol. VI, No. 4, pp 383-485 (these bound volumes in the Russell Sage Library). If you wish to trace the whole movement of Negroes to the North for fifty years I shall be glad to get for you a copy of my monograph which brought together all the available census material up to 1910. (Please indulge my mentioning my own work).

I am hesitant about designating the best books about the present aspects of race relations because recently there have been very few strong publications from the angles you enumerate. The World War and the Negro migration northward made considerable change in the whole situation. However, I venture to put down the following:

1.-Hammond, Mrs. L.H. In Black and White, N.Y. 1914; Murphy, Edward Gardner, The Basis of Ascendency, N.Y. 1901. The latter is a more philosophical treatment than the former, but without so unrestricted commitment to ideals of democracy and Christian principles of brotherhood as the former.

2.-Smith, William B. The Color Line. I am not sure about the date of publication and haven't a bibliography that contains it. It is more than ten years old, but I do not recall any worth while reactionary book from a Southerner since it came out, unless R.W. Shufeldt is a Southerner (I do not know), but his book, "America's Greatest Problem, The Negro," Philadelphia, 1915, is the extreme of the prejudiced and reactionary.

3.-Miller, Kelly, Race Adjustment, New York 1909. Roman, C.V. American Civilization and the Negro, Philadelphia, 1916. This is the best thing written from this attitude and one of the best generally written, although rather long and argumentative.

Dr. Spear #2
March 7, 1923.

4.--Under this heading those who represent the "center" and "left" of Negro opinion may be divided generally into two groups. One does not adhere to ideals of violence: DuBois, W.E.B. "Darkwater" is undoubtedly the outstanding book of this wing. The other wing - violent and socialistic - can best be studied from the files of their newspapers and magazine publications. My suggestion is that you go through the files of "The Negro World" and "The Messenger". I have a number of these available at your convenience.

For the whole range of Negro opinion expressed in periodicals and newspapers it would be well to read Kerlin's "The Voice of the Negro," N.Y. 1920, and the files of "The Crisis," the leading Negro magazine.

5.--Baker, Ray Stannard, Following the Color Line, N.Y. 1908. Seligmann, H.J., The Negro Faces America, N.Y. 1920. This is a most interesting analysis of the situation made by a northern white man partly thru the eyes of the Negro. It might be well in this connection to look up the books of a foreign observer; for instance, "The Soul of John Brown," by S. Graham, N.Y. 1920.

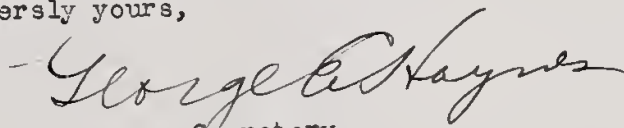
6.--From the general national viewpoint there is hardly any book which I might say stands out preeminently in its treatment. Probably Baker's "Following the Color Line," (mentioned above) and Josiah Royce's "Race Question and Other American Problems," N.Y. 1908 really measure up to this high level. One of the needs now is to have more literature treating of this situation from both the national and interracial standpoint. I hope sometime our Commission is going to be able to promote the development of such literature.

May I suggest along this line that you will find, here and there, pamphlets and magazine articles which treat of the question from the larger national point of view. If you decide to go into that material I would be glad to suggest some references which might be perused, though it will not be always feasible to determine their value before perusing them.

I shall be glad to talk with you at your convenience. I shall be in the city (except March 11 and 18) until March 30; will then be in the South until April 12 and back in the office thru April, except the twenty-first and twenty-fifth.

I thank you for the letters which were forwarded, and regret that Dean Lathrop feels he cannot serve on our Commission.

Sincerely yours,


Secretary

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A microscopic examination of the blood of Negroes and
whites shows exactly the same chromosomal com-
position. And so far as the surgeon now knows
the blood of any race can be transfused into the
vein of any other race. The qualities which make
blood transfusable are not racial but individual.

The biologists hold, however, that even though the differences
in gene places can not be found by any tests they
are nevertheless there and are demonstrated by effects.

The sociologists regard the effects ~~may~~ be due to other
causes. It may be well to cite the views of the biologist.

R. G. Cullen of Princeton writes: _____

_____ (letter to R. G. Cullen, Feb. 25, 1924.)

Prof. Parshley of Smith College writes:

(New York Evening Post, Literary Review, March
8, 1924, p. 586)

E. G. Conklin

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

DEPARTMENT OF BIOLOGY

February 25, 1924

Dr. Speer
Dr. Robert E. Speer,
Secretary, Board of Foreign Missions,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York City.

My dear Dr. Speer:

I read the proof of your book on Race Problems with very much interest, and in the main approved it. The criticisms which I suggested were, I realize, minor ones, and such as might appeal rather to a technical biologist than to a general reader.

Regarding my criticism of your use of the word "germplasm", I would suggest that this word has now such a definite meaning in biology that it ought not to be employed in any other sense than that in which it is used by the biologists. As a matter of fact, [it is of course true that one can not detect with the microscope any visible difference in the germplasm of one human race as compared with that of another, but this would also be true if we were to compare the germplasms of many different genera and even phyla of animals. The fact is that differences of an invisible nature may readily be detected by the results of development when they cannot be directly seen with the microscope. For example, there is no question that there is some difference in the germplasm of a negro and a white man, but this difference cannot be directly observed because our microscopes are too imperfect to see all the differences that actually exist in germplasms. Of course, this method of detecting invisible differences is used in physics and chemistry, and in many other sciences.

So far as I know there is no difference that is recognizable with the microscope between the blood of a Chinese and that of a white man] but there are certain microscopical differences in hair and skin that can be recognized directly under the microscope. [But the point of real importance is that differences in germplasm can be demonstrated to exist even though they cannot be seen directly, just as molecules and atoms can be demonstrated to exist though no one has ever seen a molecule or atom.]

You certainly have the joke on me if I have corrected your quotation of a sentence from my Yale Review article. You

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

DEPARTMENT OF BIOLOGY

-2-

Dr. R. E. Speer

Feb. 25, 1924

say that the quotation read in the galley, "Inherited characteristics have to a large extent determined by the type of civilization which any race manifests", and that I changed the have to are. Evidently I saw that the sentence was not good English as quoted, and was concerned rather with correcting the English than with the sense which it conveyed. Of course, the correction should have been to omit the word by.

I am very glad that you are publishing this book and hope and believe that it will do much good.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "E. S. Conklin". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the typed name "Sincerely yours,".

S. G. Luman

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March 5th, 1924.

W. J. L.

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MAR 7 - 1924

Mr. Speer

III h -
VII. h. 54

Dear Mr. Speer:

Let me share with you the enclosed
 by-products of our committee work. The relig-
 ious declarations of such an influential woman
 as Gabriella Mistral are indeed encouraging.

Yours faithfully,

S. G. Luman

A Brief List of books on AMERICAN RACE QUESTIONS

Church and the Immigrant, The. George E. Harkness, George H.

Doran Co.

Coming of the Slav, The. Charles Eugene Edwards. Westminster

Press, Philadelphia.

Foreign Relations of China. Minghien Joshua Bau. Fleming H.

Revell Co., New York \$4.00.

Foreigners or Friends. Thomas Burgess. Department of Missions

and Church Extension of the Bishops and Council of the

Protestant Episcopal Church, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City

Home Mission Trails. Jay S. Stowell. The Abingdon Press, New York.

Japanese-American Relations. Ichiro Tokutomi. Macmillan Co.,

New York.

Near Side of the Mexican Question, The. Jay S. Stowell.

George H. Doran, Co., New York. \$1.50.

New Japanese Peril, The. Sidney Osborne. The Macmillan Co.,

New York. \$2.00.

Old Trails and New Borders. Edward A. Steiner. Fleming H.

Revell Co., New York. \$1.50.

Problems in Pan-Americanism. Guy Inman. George H. Doran Co.,

New York. \$2.00.

Racial Studies. Published by George H. Doran Co., New York.

Czecho-Slovaks in America, The. Kenneth D. Miller. \$1.00.

Greeks in America, The. J. P. Xenides. \$1.00.

Italians in America, The. Philip M. Rose. \$1.00.

Maygars in America, The. D. A. Souders. \$1.00.

Poles in America, The. Paul Fox. \$1.00.

Russians and Ruthenians in America, The. Jerome Davis. \$1.00

SEE "Some Best Books on the American Negro." The Missionary

Review of the World. June, 1922, issue. p. 507.

Franklin D. Cogswell

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Promotion Secretary

December 4, 1922

Arz

Dr. Robert E. Speer
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City

My dear Dr. Speer:

If you have not already seen the new issue of the NEGRO YEAR BOOK, edited by Monroe N. Work and published at Tuskegee, I think you would find it very valuable for reference in planning your reading on the race question. It contains a very complete bibliography, both of books and magazine articles, on the principal phases of the subject.

Dr. George E. Haynes is much interested in our project and offers any facilities that his Commission is able to command in helping you with research problems. They are quite well equipped to do this as far as the race problems involving the Negro is concerned. If we make request of them for any specific inquiries in this field they will undertake to secure information for us quickly.

Dr. Haynes calls especially to our attention the Government census volume entitled NEGRO POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES 1790-1915. This is the most complete work there is on Negro statistics. On the point in which you are especially interested, that is the intermixture of races, Dr. Haynes' opinion is that the statistics are not very dependable because they are based upon the personal opinions of the census enumerators rather than upon any actual scientific investigation. So far, I have not been able to find data that will give you very much light on this particular phase of the problem but I shall look the matter up from other sources.

The article by Isaac Fisher which you told me you wished to secure is one, I believe, entitled "School Problems of the Southern Negro" which appeared in the Fisk University News for October 1922.

I enclose an annotated list of the Americanization Studies prepared under the general supervision of the Carnegie Corporation. Some of these will not be of very much value to you, but others present some helpful material, especially on European backgrounds of race groups in America.

Dr. Speer - #2

I think you will also be interested in THE TREND OF THE RACE by Holmes, a new book on biology that seems to be attracting a considerable amount of attention just now. I have given a full reference to it on the enclosed list. THE OLD WORLD IN THE NEW by Edward A. Ross is a rather popular series of chapters dealing with the principal European groups that are found in the United States. No doubt you are familiar with it, but if you are not, it might help you to secure a starting point on some particular race groups.

I have not yet had time to read the new book which Revell recently issued, CHRISTIANITY AND THE RACE PROBLEM by Robert E. Smith. I have noticed a few reviews of it which were not altogether complimentary but it is probably a book that you will want to examine in the course of your reading.

Yours sincerely,

Franklin D. Cogswell

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The Americanization Studies published
by Harper & Bros. for the Carnegie Corporation of
New York (522 Fifth Avenue)

These are the results of an extensive investigation and analysis of the work of various Americanization agencies. The work has been conducted under the direction of Mr. Allen T. Burns. \$2.50 each

THE SCHOOLING OF THE IMMIGRANT. Frank Thompson.

A study of the effectiveness of the numerous formal undertakings to educate adult immigrants in American language and citizenship. The author discusses frankly and fearlessly the training given by parochial schools to the children of many immigrants, and presents the part to be taken by local, state, and national education authorities. The trend of legislation in the states and country at large since the national awakening to the fact that the development of competent citizens is a public responsibility, is critically examined.

AMERICA VIA THE NEIGHBORHOOD. John Daniels.

This book shows how community councils, political parties, labor organizations, etc., have turned the neighborhood grouping of immigrants to account, and indicates how this same grouping may be made an aid to their Americanization; meaning participation in American life, loyalty to America, devotion to the ideals of democracy, and a share in the activities through which this ideal may be achieved. The method must be extensive more than intensive; the individual must be reached through the group.

OLD WORLD TRAITS TRANSPLANTED. Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller

A study of the traditions, prejudices, and tastes which the immigrant brings from his fatherland. It shows how these must be modified to blend with his life in America, and aims to preserve the best in the immigrant's Old World traditions for assimilation in our national life, and to replace with the best American tastes and traditions anything which would be detrimental to his development in America.

IMMIGRANT HEALTH AND THE COMMUNITY. Michael M. Davis, Jr.

The health habits of the immigrant frequently offer a startling contrast to those of other American citizens. Overcoming this disparity is the phase of immigration taken up in this volume. It tells what progress has been made and suggests methods for future improvements. Coercion, neglect, and cooperative education are compared, and methods of sanitation suggested so that the health of the community may be improved.

A STAKE IN THE LAND. Peter A. Speck.

Need of an increased rural population is the outstanding feature of the 1920 Federal Census, for cities have grown at five times the rate of agricultural districts. In this volume of the Americanization series corrective measures for this dilemma are suggested, and ways and means of developing a common viewpoint - social, political, industrial - between the native and immigrant populations put forth. The question of land distribution and land development in this country is a serious one, and the conclusions drawn by the author are worthy of much consideration.

NEW HOMES FOR OLD. Sophonisba P. Breckenridge.

This volume has to do with the immigrant's choice of a home and his first readjustment of family life to conform with American practices. The author surveys and epitomizes the field of remedial and constructive social service in relation to the immigrant's most intimate needs. What has already been accomplished and what yet remains to be done are set forth.

THE IMMIGRANT PRESS AND ITS CONTROL. Robert E. Park.

Here is the first attempt to explain foreign-language newspapers, with an understanding of the history of the various papers themselves and the needs they fill for their subscribers. This volume is a vivisection of these much-discussed journals, which have been the storm center of fears, criticism, threats, and proposals in the Americanization field. Their contents are thoroughly analyzed, but in the light of the development of the papers themselves and their constituents. The fundamental problem of fusing native and foreign born can never be completely understood without a reading of this book.

AMERICANS BY CHOICE. John P. Gavit.

This volume deals with the political and civic relationships of the immigrant. The legal toils through which candidates for citizenship must pass are carefully studied and defects and possible improvements discussed. The author, in a startling manner, demonstrates the fallacy of the impression that the newer immigrants do not become citizens - an impression which has always prevailed.

THE TREND OF THE RACE. Samuel J. Holmes, Ph.D. Professor of Zoology in University of California.

Harcourt Brace & Co., New York. 1921. \$4.00.

Reference readings at end of chapters have quite full lists of books and articles.

A study of present tendencies in the biological development of civilized mankind.

^{World}
THE OLD IN THE NEW. E. A. Ross. Century Co. \$2.40

Henry Forman

Gwalior.

May, 16, 1923.

RECEIVED

Dr. R. E. Speer,

156 5th Avenue, New York.

Dear Robert,

You speak in your last letter of a book you are writing on the Race Question and ask for ~~any~~ suggestions any of us may have to make. I have thought you would be interested in a telegram that appeared in the Pioneer two days ago. I am sending a marked copy of the paper by the same mail as this. Col. Gidney, I.M.S. Retired, practices as an eye specialist, and I consulted him recently for glasses. He is a distinctly ~~an~~ able man. He is President of the Anglo-Indian Society and himself an Anglo-Indian or Eurasian as they used to be called - a word that came to be resented but I think without reason. To me what he has said is very interesting. ^{Some of} ~~the~~ facts are somewhat as follows:-

(1) While in America the mulatto ^{was} ~~was~~ repudiated by white society and became a leader in negro society, in India the Eurasian was repudiated by Indian Society (due no doubt to the caste system) and became ~~the~~ the bottom of ~~the~~ the European Society, adopting the European civilization, manners, customs, religion and language, but not accepted among Europeans. This is an interesting contrast, and the lot of the mulatto has in the past been much to be preferred.

(2) In my early years in India I came in contact with, and was shocked by, the intense dislike of the English by the Eurasian. I thought within myself, 'These people owe all they have to the

English . They and their children would have no chance in India in the midst of the teeming Hindu and Mohammedan population but for the position the British Raj gives them. How ungrateful and foolish of them to hate the British'. I had not learned that help and favours given as by a superior to an inferior, even though accepted because needed, create not gratitude , but usually bitter resentment. This was the fact. The experience of Jean Val Jean with the poor family in Paris he befriended and gave money to, is an illustration.

(3) The Anglo Indian community has always feared the competition of Hindu as the Californian labourer fears that of the Chinaman-- only the one has had to accept it, the other could ~~check it~~ ~~side~~

(4) Now the Anglo Indian sees the fact clearing before his vision that the British are foreigners and cannot be always in power in India, that the permanent factor is the Indian. To try to be like the bat in the fable that wished to be bird at one time and animal at another , must bring disaster. Hence ~~xxxxxxx~~

Col. Gidney's interesting insistence, ' we must decide what we are'.

And ^{our} ~~their~~ only hope lies in taking their place squarely as Indians.]

He is a wise man and a courageous man, in view of the vast prejudice ^{against} and contempt for Indians that is rife in his community, to come out squarely thus . And he is unquestionably right.

[Taking this line the Anglo Indians of India will get full recognition in India and I believe will be treated fairly.]

II. The condition of our Indian Christian community is in some respects that of the Anglo Indian with which it likes to identify itself much to the displeasure of the Anglo Indians. They too were repudiated by their old community not because of their faith

so much as because they broke caste. They too became a community of very mixed ancestry, ^{I mean of many castes & outcastes.} They too were not accepted socially in European Society - really not even amongst missionaries. This last may seem reprehensible - but if it is wrong (which I deny) let him that is without the sin cast the stone. The insuperable barrier was the race barrier. Social intercourse, perhaps the best factor, the most spiritual, in human life, is possible only between people who are like-minded. The civilization and the thoughts of the missionary and his convert had flowed in different channels and had been different for milleniums. They were not like-minded. The missionary (of the right sort) loved and stood ready to serve in every way he could the convert who had become an out-caste (out-of-caste) to follow Christ. But especially as the number grew the social pleasure and comfort to each from the other was small, and each naturally and rightly found his friendships in his own kind.

I have recently seen a quotation from Macaulay to the effect that though he had literally hundreds of friends scattered about the world yet there were not more than half a dozen the news of whose death would cause him to go without his breakfast. There is ~~no~~ nothing to be ~~condemned~~ in this. Thus we are constituted. Since therefore the circle of close friends is so small, surely one should be allowed to draw close to the few his heart is knitted to in like-mindedness, and not be told by superior and impractical theorists that he must love the African, the Indian, the British or what not as he does his own people. It cannot be, it should not be. Mankind would be no better if it were so. For if A, an American, love B C and D, other Americans, or E F and G (English, Indian and African) in each case the same number is loved. Some may perhaps

be able to do good to all men (every attenuated good at the outer circles) but none can love all men, at least not before he knows them.

Race feeling is so often depicted as wicked. But all men have it. We would not respect a man wholly lacking it, a man who enjoyed the society of negro women as much as that of fellow white Americans, or a white woman who enjoyed the society of negro men as much as that of whites. It is in the relation of the sexes that race feeling is shown most clearly to be a positive good.

Of course I do not defend race-feeling that is Bitter or full of hatred.

I have had many Indian friends, Hindus Mahomedans and Christians and I confess to having often felt a pang when I saw how different, however friendly, their attitude towards me was from their attitude towards each other. Here on this old Fort all my associations are with Indians. My family is in Landour, and I work along with and see and talk with Indians only, from week's end to week's end save for Sunday evenings when I go down to the Pendletons for dinner. I think I draw as close as any to the Indian in sympathy and thought and mutual regard, and yet I feel at every time that I am a foreigner. It makes one hungry for his own people. You will remember Lafcadio Hearn's experience, even marrying a Japanese lady in order to really be one with the Japanese, and how bitterly disappointed he was - he found it could not be, they did not accept him.

The early English in India got closer to the Indians than we do now - they seldom went 'home', they got little home news, they smoked the huqqa, even their English wives did; ~~many~~ married Indian and Eurasian women. They did not become one with the people even then, but the nearer they came to getting rid of race distinctions the lower they sank in the scale of life - and the lower they sank the less were they of help or service to the Indian.)

I must stop, lest you think I am trying to write a treatise on the Race Question, which I am not. Don't think I fail of respect for Indians. I do not. I have had intimate friends among them from the highest down to the Sweeper. I could not but sincerely honour many of the men I am thrown with in my present position. And I have a deeper sympathy with them than ever before.

Yours affectionately
Henry Forman

C O P Y :

August 17, 1923

Dr. George E. Haynes,
c/o Federal Council of Churches,
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Haynes:

With many others I have thoroughly enjoyed a new study of race questions in connection with teaching your book. I have been glad to develop my own thought on relations with Negroes in America while emphasizing to my classes the common principles applicable to the problem of Orientals on the Pacific Coast.

Two rather unique and interesting suggestions have come to me from colored men I have met in connection with discussions of your book. A prominent colored lawyer in Los Angeles said that in addition to the twelve million Negroes listed in the United States census there were probably three million of Negro blood who were not recognized as such and counted with the white population. I presume this was a mere guess and its accuracy has no special significance either way, except as an indication of what is actually happening independent of our theories.

The other suggestion was made by a colored Y.M.C.A. secretary. He said that the race prejudice against the Negro was practically a growth of the last twenty-five years, and, instead of being a social instinct among white people in the South, it was the result of deliberate and systematic political propaganda, in just the same way and for the same reason as the political propaganda which has spread anti-Japanese prejudice all over the country. If this is even measurably true, and you could trace the history of the growth of prejudice against the Negroes, analyzing the causes of that growth, and bringing out particularly the deliberate propaganda in it, as distinguished from the social and economic conditions which favored it you would greatly help us who are interested in race problems. I feel that in spite of facts demonstrating rapid Americanization of Japanese in the United States, organized and deliberate political propaganda has built up a great volume of popular prejudice, for which there is really very slight justification. Besides urging people to be fair and kind to those of other races, I want to find the real reasons for their not being so.

Very cordially yours,

GVH-AMS

(Signed) GEO. W. HINMAN

Dictated 9/11/23

September 12, 1923

The Rev. Rodney W. Roudy,
156 Fifth Ave.,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Roudy:

I am very much obliged for your note of September 5th with its enclosed copy of Dr. Hinman's letter to Dr. Haynes.

I am trying to get the facts regarding the number of mulattoes at the present time. The census reported figures up to and including the census of 1910. The last census, however, omitted them. I should be very much surprised if there was any large number of people with negro blood in their veins who are included in the white population. I wonder what basis of evidence the colored lawyer possessed to whom Dr. Hinman refers.

An easy way to check the other information which he reports is to go back and read the books and magazine articles of 25 years ago. I have been doing this and such a study does not justify the judgment of the colored Secretary referred to. I think it could be shown that up to a certain period, say ten years ago, there had been a pretty steady growth of race prejudice since the war, and there is still of course one school of opinion which is as virulent as opinion can be. It is more than offset, however, by the tremendous growth of the nobler sentiment of the white South during the last ten years.

Some of the worst expressions of race prejudice that I have read during the last year have been in old tracts of the first half of the last century.

I have finished the manuscript and have sent it to Mr. Cogswell. I have had to cut out more than half of what I have written but am hoping that it may be possible, after a year or two, to issue the full unabridged book.

Thanking you for all your help, and trusting that you will have a chance to go over the manuscript and make suggestions, I am

Very cordially yours,

RES-KC.

A N S W E R S

- to -

**QUESTIONS FROM "THE BOARD OF FOREIGN
MISSIONS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
IN THE U.S.A., NEW YORK," ON THE INTER-
RACIAL PROBLEM; -**

- by -

**THE HON. SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR,
KT., B.A., L.L.B., L.L.D.,**

**LATE JUDGE OF THE HIGH COURT, BOMBAY,
EX-VICE CHANCELLOR, UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY
AND NOW PRESIDENT, BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE
COUNCIL.**

April 18, 1923.

In preparation for this book I wrote to several friends in Asia, members of different races, asking them for their help. The letter from one of these, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, of Bombay, deserves to be printed in full. It must have been one of the last documents he prepared. It is dated April 18, 1923, and he died on May 14, 1923. Sir Narayan was one of the most remarkable and most honored men in India. His full title and official record ran: The Honorable Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Kt., B.A., L.L.B., L.L.D., Late Judge of the High Court, Bombay, Ex-Vice Chancellor of the University of Bombay, President of the Bombay Legislative Council.

He was a member of the Prarthana Samaj, the most progressive of the Indian reform societies within Hinduism, and a great devotee of the poet Tukaram. But he had strong intellectual and spiritual sympathies with Christianity. In one confession he declared: "I am a Hindu, but I believe in Christ as the highest fulfilment of Hinduism. I have a picture of Christ crucified in my bedroom where I can look daily upon it.....I believe Jesus Christ to be unique in His character, His teaching, His power to save and help men and especially in His dynamic and world-wide social programme. No one else ever did for suffering oppressed humanity what He did. I am a Christian already, yet I cannot dogmatically say that Christ was God. Though a follower of Christ in my daily life I do not take the outward step of baptism because, as at present interpreted in the popular mind, it means not only to accept Christianity but to reject and denounce Hinduism. This I cannot do, for I believe that God has been in our past history and revelation."

And some years ago in an address entitled: "The Kingdom of Christ and the Spirit of the Age," he said: "Let me tell you what I consider the greatest miracle of the present day. It is this: that to this great country, with its 300 millions of people, there should come from a little island, unknown by name even to our forefathers, many thousand miles distant from our shores, and with a population of but fifty or sixty millions, a message so full of spirit and life as the Gospel of Christ. This,

surely, is a miracle if ever there was one. And this message has not only come, but it is finding a response in our hearts. The process of the conversion of India to Christ may not be going on as rapidly as you hope, or in exactly the same manner as you hope but, nevertheless, India is being converted; the ideas that lie at the heart of the Gospel are slowly but surely permeating every part of Hindu society, and modifying every phase of Hindu thoughts."

His statement on the race question will show how these questions appeared to such a mind in India.

I. What is the Origin and what do you conceive to be the Divine Purpose of Race and Racial Differences?

The object of these questions being, as stated in the Questionnaire, "to set before our own people the Christian view of race and racial feeling, and the solution of the race problem," I should content myself with starting in these answers with the Biblical view as to the origin of race and racial differences. In Chapter XI of Genesis in the Old Testament we are told that at the beginning of its creation the whole earth was of one language and of one speech. I understand that to mean that but one race of people existed at the beginning of the creation. The Science of Comparative Philology supports that statement of fact. The account in Genesis goes on to say that it came to pass, as the single race that then existed journeyed from the east, they dwelt in the land of Shinar; that they started building a city and a tower; and that the Lord "confounded their language and scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth," to prevent their being "one people," and having "all one language." In Chapter XII of Genesis we have it that God asked Abram to get out of his country and from his kindred, and from his father's house unto a land which God would show him with the object of making him the father of "a great nation." These historical facts, put very pithily in the Bible, show that the family first and the tribe afterwards gave origin to race; and that racial differences have been due to differences of climate, language, religion, traditions, and other circumstances that compose a people's environment. While these main facts of the story in the Bible find support from the discoveries of science and the researches of history, the view propounded in Chapter XI of Genesis that God, having become jealous of the men who started building the city and the tower, confounded their language and scattered them abroad, to restrain their ambition and prevent them from becoming all-powerful against the Almighty, represents the crude primitive view as to the origin of race. The later conception of God is Love promoting Unity, not Jealousy and Fear. The Bible must be studied as a book

dealing with the evolution of Man and the human race - their growth from crude ideas to the highest conceptions of humanity as revealed by the life and teachings of Christ. To the primitive view expressed in Genesis God appeared to deal with men on the principle subsequently enunciated by the Romans for the government of their Empire - the principle, viz., of "divide and rule." That principle has been corrupted to mean that the safety of a ruler lies in breeding differences among the ruled that they may not prove powerful against the ruling authority by reason of union among themselves. But the true meaning of "divide and rule" as the Divine law of life is given to us in Genesis itself and also in some other books of the Old Testament when the writers of those books merely state facts as distinguished from their understanding of the implications of those facts. For instance, the first true glimpse of the Divine law of "divide and rule" is afforded in Chapter IV, Genesis, in the second verse of which we are told that the two sons of Adam and Eve were not alike, because "Abel was a keeper of sheep but Cain was a tiller of the ground." "Orders and degrees," says Milton in the Paradise Lost, "jar not with liberty but well consist." A wise ruler promotes the cause of good government and contributes to Unity among his people by dividing the government into gradations and ranks such as we know now by the name of departments, division of labor, delegated authority, or decentralization. Nature is our best teacher on this point as to the Divine purpose of race and racial differences. It is out of variety and diversity that Nature exhibits her harmony and beauty. The Poet Browning brings that out in these lines: -

"Rather learn and love
Each facet-flash of the revolving year; -
Red, green, and blue, that whirl into white,
The variance, the eventual unity,
Which makes the miracle."

Or take these lines from Wordsworth's Prelude: -

"The immeasurable height
Of woods decaying, never to be decayed,
The stationary blasts of waterfalls,

And in the narrow rent at every turn
Winds thwarting winds, bewildered and forlorn,
The torrents shooting from the clear blue sky,
And rocks that muttered close upon our ears,
Black drizzling crags that spake by the wayside
As if a voice were in them, the sick sight
And giddy prospect of the raving stream,
The unfettered cloud and region of the Heavens,
Tumult and peace, the darkness and the light
Were all like workings of one mind, the features
Of the same face, blossoms upon one tree,
Characters of the great Apocalypse, -
The types and symbols of Eternity,
Of first, and last, and midst, and without end."

In short, unity must come and can only come out of diversity. What doubt is to faith, as an incentive, diversity is to unity. All the different races have each its peculiarity of contribution to the happiness and progress of all the world. All depend upon one another. In St. Paul's phrase, all are intended to be members of one another. No race is nor can be self-sufficient without stunting itself. Even as between and among the people of one race, sameness of all without diversity in points of view, capacity, and personality, is apt to lead to imbecility and retard the cause of truth. "Assemblies that are met," wrote Burke, "and with a resolution to be all of a mind, are assemblies that can have no opinion at all of their own. The first proposal of any measure must be their master." The same law applies to races. Each has its own mission allotted to it by Providence to promote the unity of the world - the brotherhood of the whole human race under the fatherhood of God.

It has been remarked by some writers that two essential problems enter into the problem of Life, viz., (1) the food problem, and (2) the race problem. The former is indispensable for the self-preservation of a race and the latter for its self-realization.

Let me briefly consider the true aspect of each of these problems, on which depends primarily the very existence and continuance of a race.

In its primitive conditions a people belonging to a country have, comparatively speaking, but a few wants, whether in point of food or other necessities of life. But

as they advance in civilization, the wants increase with their standard of life, so that every country comes to be more or less dependent on others. Hence the growing value of commerce. Commerce, which in its accepted sense means the exchange of goods between one country and another, represents the spiritual value of what St. Paul has termed Charity, meaning the brotherliness of love. This interdependence of races or nations for food gives rise to the terms familiar to Political Economy - such as production, distribution, exchange, value, currency, etc. These terms mean that St. Paul's pithy saying that "none of us liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself" applies to races and nations as well. Mr. Harry F. Ward in his book on "The New Social Order" has well pointed out that during the last war "it became glaringly apparent that no nation was sufficient unto itself for its economic life." In 1915, Mr. Lloyd George, who was then the British Prime Minister, said in a public speech that the commandment "Love thy neighbor as thyself" is not only good religion but also good business." The idea of Free-Trade first came into the thoughts of the late Mr. Gladstone when he was at the Board of Trade. He saw there a letter from a Chinese Official at Canton to the Head Swell at Peking, suggesting that "no ships should be allowed at Chinese ports without heavy dues but that ships bringing food for the people - that was quite another affair." (Page 193, Sir Algernon West's Diaries.) That puts the Divine purpose of different races in a nutshell, so far as their interdependence in respect of the food problem is concerned.

Writing as a Hindu, I may here supplement what I have said by an appeal to the voice of the Hindu religion in its highest aspects. The Hindu Scriptures declare that "food is the form of Brahma," i.e. the Universal Soul. That is to say, it is a symbol of the Divine - because it is "the life of the whole world." It is a current proverb in India: "Meat and Matrimony are Unifiers."

Turning now to the question of the self-realization of a race as an indispensable condition of Life, we must first settle what self-realization means in the case of a race. In the case of an individual, we know that there are two selves - the animal self

and the spiritual self. Self-realization in the case of an individual means growing from the lower animal to the higher spiritual plane of life, man rising (to use the familiar lines of Tennyson) "on the stepping stones of his dead self." This he can do only by trying to realize in his own person the Ideal of the Absolute, the life of the Universal Soul. What is true of Self-realization in the case of an individual man is also true in the case of his race. Every race has its own peculiar genius, by means of which it is ordained to express and realize itself to fulfill its allotted mission, to make its contribution to the good of humanity as a whole, and thereby to help the cause of the unity of the world and civilization. What St. Paul has explained in Chapter XII of I Corinthians holds good of races as well as individual persons. "There are diversities of gifts but the same spirit; and there are differences of administrations but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations but it is the same God which worketh all in all.....All these worketh that one and the self-same spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will." "There is no difference between the Jew and the Greek, for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him." That this law applies to races also has been so tersely expressed in an article which appeared in the International Journal of Ethics (May, 1921) that I shall take the liberty of citing it here: -

After stating that national genius is expressed only "by aiming at the absolute ideal," that self-consciousness both in a nation and an individual is a hindrance to self-expression and "self-realization," the writer observes, "when a nation has produced great original work, it has not been ^{by} trying to be characteristically national but by seeking to find the absolute truth. It is by keeping steadily in view the ideal and in obedience to the universal claims of truth and love that nationality will reach its highest expression."

To each race then its peculiar genius is given in order that all races may serve one another and out of diversities of gifts constituting the brighter side of racial differences help and promote mutual good. As beautifully sung by the Scotch Divine

(Dr. George Matheson) in his hymn: "One in Christ:"

"Thine is the mystic light that India craves;
Thine is the Parsis(?) sin-destroying beam;
Thine is the Buddha's rest from tossing waves;
Thine is the Empire of vast China's dream;

Gather us in.

Thine is the Roman's strength without his pride;
Thine is the Greek's glad world without its grave;
Thine is Judea's law, with Love beside -
The Truth that centres and the Grace that saves.

.....

Within Thy Mansion we have all and more.

Gather us in.

II. What is your definition of race? Are the different races fundamentally unlike or are their variations superficial and removable? If so, to what extent, and through what processes or forces?

I do not feel equal to the task of defining the term race. That is a task for experts.

I should venture to think that the different races are fundamentally alike if by fundamentally we mean at the core. The proverbial sayings that "human nature is the same everywhere," and that "one touch of nature makes the whole world kin," record centuries of world-wide experience. Years ago an English Divine - Rev. Mr. Fielding - wrote and published a book on "The Soul of a People," which then attracted much attention. The author there described the character of the people of Burmah and displayed an insight into it which was the result of his personal contact with and life for a number of years amongst them in their own country. The purport of the book was that it is one Soul, one human heart with the Divine as its indwelling Spirit, which animates all the different races of mankind; that such racial differences as divide peoples and lead to mutual hatred are, however strongly marked, more or less superficial and can be removed by mutual sympathy between race and race. Since then, I believe, "the soul of a people" has become not only a classic phrase but a familiar expression in literature representing the truth embodied in the English proverbs above cited. Similar proverbs have been from ancient times current in India. It should be easy to prove by facts from history that racial differences are superficial and that fundamentally - meaning, at the bottom, - deep down in the recesses of the human heart - all races are alike. The celebrated Darwin, to whom we owe the doctrine of Evolution, has told us that certain Fuegians, who were brought to England in his time, were found by him on close examination to be at the bottom not unlike Englishmen or any other civilized race. The Africans who loved the great Livingstone, and served him faithfully, ready to die for him; the Samoans whom Louis Stevenson gathered about him and who became his ardent followers on account of his

loving service to them, so much so that they built a road in his honor and called it "The Road of the Loving Heart" because they called him "the loving heart," - these are not stray illustrations from actual life. The Old Testament has made us familiar with the expression that "the Ethiopian cannot change his skin." The skin no doubt is tough and it may not be easy to eradicate the habits and qualities, mental and moral, due to the environment of climate, religion, and traditions which it connotes and breeds. But after all the skin is an external covering of the human body and if you creep inside it, you can discover God in the germ in every man, woman and child of every human race. The Biblical saying that an Ethiopian cannot change his skin has been taken to mean that racial nature is ineradicable. If that is so, why has the Bible used the word "skin" instead of employing the word "nature" to convey that idea? The studious use of the word "skin" is significant. And, as General Gordon used to say, we must creep inside the skin of a man to find his human point of view. The same God dwells in all - our differences ^{are} after all but skin-deep.

While that is so, to each race is given its own genius. The ancient Greek was different from the ancient Romans; the Jews had their own racial characteristics. Just as every individual has his own personality differentiating him from other individuals, so every race has its own peculiarities, enabling it to develop itself on their lines and thereby contribute to the civilization of mankind as a whole. Those peculiarities may prove a blessing if the development on their basis is directed by the knowledge and consciousness that all the races are the children of one God bound together by the chain of the brotherhood of Love. They prove a curse where the race becomes hidebound and is led by conceit of itself and treats other races as inferior doomed by nature to serfdom.

I think that such of the racial variations as are skin-deep, due to the environment, traditions, and religion of a race and as retard its progress can be removed without detriment to or loss of those racial variations which constitute the peculiar genius of the race fitting it to contribute its quote to the civilization of mankind as a whole.

The racial variations which have proved a hindrance to that civilization have persisted either because some races have lived a self-contained life of isolation, hidebound and separated from the rest of the civilized world, or because when they have been brought into contact with it, the more civilized and powerful race has treated the backward race as a race of helots, doomed by nature to inferiority, and exploited it for its own aggrandisement. The idea has prevailed that some races have been created by God as superior beings, destined to lord it over other races doomed to inferiority and remain in the lower scale of civilization. This idea dates from the ancient times and has done much mischief in our own days owing to a misunderstanding of the laws of biology and the doctrine of Evolution made familiar to us in the nineteenth century by Darwin and Spencer. At the Annual Meeting of the Universities Mission to Central Africa held in London in May, 1921, Bishop Gore presiding, Archdeacon H. W. Woodward, who had served the Mission since 1878, recounted his experiences which illustrate the way in which this race problem is treated by some European races in the name of Christianity. Archdeacon Woodward said;

"We are told that the best way to civilize the African is to make him work. That depends upon what is meant by civilization. Work does not necessarily Christianize and does not necessarily lead a man to Christianity. Once a man told me that the best way to help the Africans was to teach them to love strong drink and then they would work well in order to get money to buy it. He was a man with a title. I have often talked with settlers on the subject of work and they speak as though it were the remedy for all evils of body and soul." (See The Guardian; a London Weekly; 20th May, 1921; page 372)

The Venerable Archdeacon further stated:

"I was in that country ten years before any other Europeans (except the members of the Mission) came to it. I know that the general moral character of the tribe was higher than it is at the present time. Conduct, which would have been then condemned by the whole tribe, is now treated as a matter of no consequence. I will not say that this is entirely due to the presence of Europeans. It is due also very much to the

presence of foreign laborers like the Chinese and the Japanese. It has made our work harder than it would have been. It has been made harder still by the aloofness from religion on the part of many of our European brothers. In pre-war days the people looked upon most Europeans as non-Christians, if not absolute heathen. It was thought a most remarkable thing last year when an Assistant Political Officer went into a Church to say his prayers. The news went ^{through} all the country."

As another illustration of the mischievous and false view which a superior race takes of the races it considers inferior, I would cite what Lord Stanmore told the British Parliament in 1907. He said that a very large proportion of white settlers in Fiji held the view that the natives there ought to be deprived of the ownership of lands, because the natives would then be obliged to sell their labor. The late Hon. James Mason, a large planter and a member of the Legislative Council in Fiji, met His Lordship one day and grumbled at the state of things generally and the state of planting. Lord Stanmore said to him: he had just been moving about the Colony and witnessed more prosperity than had been two years ago, - in every native village new and better houses and extended civilization, the people looking well-fed, and happy, more pigs and more poultry. Mr. Mason's reply was: "Yes, Sir, of course they are better off; and they are much better off; but we do not want them to be better off; we want them to be ill-off; when they are ill-off, they will come and work for us but when they are well off, they will not." Lord Stanmore, having recounted that experience, told Parliament:

"I took these words down at the time, and I have often thought of them since. They are an index of the antipathy which is displayed on the part of many settlers to native occupation of land." (See the Official Reports of Parliamentary Debates: House of Commons: IVth Series: Vol. 178; Cols. 476 & 478.

This exploitation of the backward races by those higher in civilization are really at the root of the mischief due to the race problems. Providence has intended that the different races should be inter-dependent and history shows that races have risen in the scale of civilization by coming into contact with one another; but that con-

tact should be one of sympathy, of love as the golden rule of life for all races, and not of one exploitation for greed and selfish interests. History also proves - and the Bible is the most terse and trenchant history on the subject - that a superior race which exploits an inferior race for its own interests and aggrandisement digs its own grave by contracting the vices of the latter - giving to the world (as the Italian statesman Cavour said) a great lesson and teaching the most powerful nations that their crimes and their errors recoil sooner or later on those who commit them.

It follows then:

1. Providence has intended that the different races should be interdependent. It is a law of nature that a race which lives isolated from the rest of the world lives a life of stagnation and decay.

2. Conquest and commerce are the two main agencies employed by Providence to bring the different races into contact with one another and learn from and help one another.

3. Races superior in point of civilization should help the inferior races, when they come in contact with the latter by means whether of conquest or commerce, by diffusing the blessings of education, sound religion, sanitation and the like. It should not be the help of exploitation. The inferior race should be encouraged to stand on its own legs instead of being treated as inferior, doomed to servitude and unfit to rise in the scale of civilization. Christ's teaching: "Be ye perfect as your Father in Heaven is perfect." "Be ye Merciful as your Father in Heaven is Merciful" is the soundest principle for wholesome practice in the regulation of intercourse between superior and inferior races. It is by following Christ's golden rule of Life that racial differences can be gradually removed and the two Divine agencies of world-unity - conquest and commerce - be used, not abused, in fulfilment of the Divine purpose of racial differences. There is no other sovereign remedy for the eradication of those differences. It is a long and perhaps painful process, but as St. Paul truly said in

Romane VIII;

"We know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now. We are saved by hopeLikewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmitie And we know all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose...May, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us."

To what extent racial differences can be removed is a question which it is difficult to answer. Ours is to work, directed by the golden rule of Christ - the results are in His hands, whose instruments we are. So far as the world has moved forward, it has moved by the light of that rule.

"Nothing," wrote Kant, "can possibly be conceived in the world or out of it, which can be considered good without qualification except a good-will. Intelligence, wit, judgment, and other talents of the mind, however they may be named, or courage, resolution, perseverance, as qualities of temperament, are undoubtedly good and desirable in many respects; but these gifts of nature may become extremely bad and mischievous, if the Will which is to make use of them and which, therefore constitutes what is called Character is not good."

On that Mr. Pringle Pattison in his Giffard Lecture on The Idea of God remarks: "The most perfect realization of unity in variety is as naught, if there is nowhere anything to which we can attach the predicate of Value."

This principle of good will is in theory praised. There is no conquering nation which has denied in profession at least that its duty is to govern the conquered for the good of the latter. But the practice has more or less departed from the profession and measures designed in reality to serve the selfish interests of the conqueror have been supported on the ground that they are for the good of the conquered. That has been more or less the character of modern diplomacy. The ancient conquerors, not having the benefit of expanded ideas of religion and the brotherhood of the human race which we moderns have, made their professions consistent with their practice. Modern conquerors have no

excuse for the camouflage which marks the dealings of most, if not all of them, with the backward races, whether conquered or not.

4. The scholars and learned men of the different races should form a brotherhood and become the bond of union among them. Emerson has well defined a scholar as a man of all climes and ages. The Universities as seats of learning should take up this question and become among the centres for propagating the ideas of human brotherhood and propagate correct ideas on racial differences.

5. The Press has come to be a most powerful agency for spreading ideas and forming opinions in these times. It is to this age what the Prophets were to the old ages. While the Press has done much good to the world, it has done much harm also. As has been said, wars and racial animosities have often been made by the Press. The worst of it is that with the growth of industrialism and commerce, the Press has also been becoming more and more a commercial venture, fostering racial prejudices and pandering to racial vanity. The prophet of the age is becoming its pedlar. In these times of democracy, men and women hang on the newspapers and have no time to think or reason for themselves. It is a great deal in the hands of the Press to diffuse sound ideas on the question of race and racial differences.

6. Above all, the churches should fulfil their proper function by insisting that races shall deal with one another on the cardinal principle of religion embodied in Christ's teaching: "Love thy neighbor as thyself;" "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." It has been recorded of Alfred the Great that he gathered the laws of England together and ordered many to be written which the forefathers of Englishmen had held; he promulgated such of those laws as he approved, rejected those he disapproved and had other ordinances enacted with the counsel of his Witan; and he introduced the laws so enacted by quoting these rare and everlasting words of Jesus: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." And quoting that he added: "By this one commandment a man shall know whether he does right, and then he will require no other law book."

III. What is the teaching of Hinduism and Mahomedanism with regard to race? Please compare these religions and Christianity in their relation to the race problem.

Hinduism: To understand the teaching of Hinduism with regard to race, it is necessary to bear in mind that Hinduism is not one creed but a conglomeration of creeds, ranging from the highest form of Monotheism to the lowest form of Animism. Just as Christ preached both to Jew and Gentile, "Be ye perfect as your Father in Heaven is perfect," thereby declaring to men of all races whatsoever, in spite of their racial differences, it is given to be perfect, and grow in point of character and personality, so also the Hindu Scriptures known as the Upanishadas maintain that growth in perfection is open to all and within the reach of all because the Universe and every element, animate or inanimate in it, has the seed of perfection. Just as Christ sought to help that growth by leading His followers step by step, so also Hinduism maintains that men must be led gradually to the attainment of perfection. But there the comparison ends and the contrast begins. Christ chose His followers from amongst the most ignorant and sinful of people. He worked from the bottom to the top. He held before them the ideal of the Absolute and by its help raised them to "perfection." There He proved the true psychologist of human nature. Elevate the lower, the higher are necessarily elevated, being provoked to emulation (to use St. Paul's words). But elevate the higher, it does not follow that the lower are also elevated. Hence Christ devoted his service to the finding and saving of "the lost sheep." Christ has also proved that the masses and the most backward classes can be gradually raised more effectively by a straight and simple appeal to what is called "the tremendous dialectics" and "the audacious logic" of the human heart than by an appeal to the logic of reasoning or the subtleties of Metaphysics or Theology. That was Christ's way of winning men to the path of perfection. He made that path open to all without distinction of race. Hinduism, on the other hand, by its doctrine of caste, has practically inculcated the principle that a man's destiny in life is determined by his birth; he cannot rise into a

higher caste. An appeal to the Absolute, it holds, is for the highly cultured classes only - the lower classes, the average man must be left to conform to lower forms of worship and life. In its operation, this way of Hinduism has had the effect of separating caste from caste and retarding the brotherhood of races. Hinduism for centuries, has banned travel to foreign lands for fear that its followers may get corrupted thereby. At the same time it has allowed foreigners to come and settle in India and live as a separate race. It has never put a ban on immigration from foreign lands and of foreign races into India.

This paradoxical attitude of Hinduism - its fear of the mixture of castes and races its toleration of other races and faiths, represents both its weak and strong points. Toleration is good but when allied to unreasonable fear of corruption from caste and race mixture it leads to stagnation. We see the result - Hinduism has become a mixture of multitudinous creeds and castes and disunion. This evil side of Hinduism has not been without a protest and a revolt against it from within its own fold. That protest and revolt came from Buddha first and after him from the saints of the school called Bhakti (Devotion), whose Bible is the Bhagwad-Gita and who flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries after Christ. According to popular and orthodox Hinduism, the world has passed through certain Ages such as the Golden and the Iron Age; the present Age is called the Age of Kali (the Destroyer). The popular belief about that Age is that it is destined to end in the mixture of castes and races, when anarchy will prevail and each man and each woman will break away from the bonds of authority and religion; and the world will become a chaos first and ruin afterwards.

This Hindu belief formed the subject of a prophecy foretold in a Hindu Purana (mythological book) dating from 1000 B.C. There it is written of the present age: "The man who owns most gold and lavishly distributes it will gain dominion over all. Religion will consist in wasting alms at large and self-willed women will seek for power. They who rule the State will rule the people and abstract the wealth of merchants on the plea of raising taxes. And in the world's last age the rights of man will be confused, no

property be safe." (See this quoted by Sir F. Banbury in the House of Commons on the 17th May, 1909, in opposing the Budget Resolutions of Mr. Lloyd George: Parl. Deb. Vth Ser: Vol. V: Col. 10). The present Age, then, stands in the eye of popular Hinduism as the Age of Sin and Unrighteousness bringing in its train all the evils of what is called Sankara, an Indian word meaning the corruption and ruin of mankind through mixture of the different races.

Against this belief the Saints I have above mentioned have fought hard and striven to dislodge it. They have praised the present Age as the Age of Hope and Salvation for human kind, especially the weakest and lowest of the human race. They have, therefore, represented it as the Golden Age of the World and described its virtues in glowing terms. According to them, in the past ages the masses were kept down by the higher classes and the true knowledge of God was made inaccessible to them. Rights of humanity were thereby withheld from the masses. But in the present age God has manifested Himself to all, irrespective of caste and race; even the meanest man can now win God by simple devotion and a righteous life without the aid of formal rites and ceremonial religion which made religion and life a matter of outward observances in the past and the privilege of the higher castes only. That in essence is the teaching of the Bhagwad-Gita - that God is no respecter of persons or races; that distinctions of Colour (meaning race) have been ordained by Him not by the test of birth, but by the test of each man's qualities and actions. Following that teaching, another Scripture of the Hindus - the Bhagwat Purana - declares that the Golden Age of the World was not in the Past but that the present Kali Age is the Golden Age because it brings together all the different races and castes, high and low, into the bonds of brotherhood. This idea is the theme of numerous hymns composed by nearly all the Indian saints. As a sample may be quoted here a hymn of the well known Maratha Saint Tukaram, who is the most popular saint among the masses in Western India and who lived in the sixteenth century A.D. In that hymn he sang:

"God's Liberty has come into the market places of the world. Let all freely

partake of it. Come unto it, ye people of all castes; accept the free gift and share it to your heart's content and be blessed." There is no distinction here of caste between man and man, high or low.

In short, I may adopt the language of St. Paul and say that according to the saine in India, in the present Age we are no longer under the dominion of the Law (called the Shastras by Hinduism) but we are under grace, called upon to "serve in newness of spirit and not in the oldness of the letter." This is the common meeting ground for Hinduism and Christianity with reference to the race problem.

Coming now to the question of the race problem as viewed by Mahomedanism, the Prophet Mahomed made no distinction between race and race - he opened his creed to all.

Now, to compare Hinduism, Mahomedanism and Christianity in their relation to the race problem, the defect of Hinduism (in its popular sense) is that it regards racial differences as natural and countenances the idea of fatalism. Hinduism is a religion of toleration - its doctrine is "Live and let live." These words sum up its popular creed. When I was a boy and was sent to a school kept by a Christian Missionary, the Missionary who taught us the Bible, every day for an hour, used to denounce Hinduism in violent terms. My maternal grandfather, who brought me up and sent me to the school for education was an orthodox Brahmin. I naturally resented the Missionary's abuse of Hinduism. One day, unable to stand the abuse any longer, I complained to my grandfather. Instead of resenting the conduct of the Missionary, my grandfather counselled me to pay no heed to the Missionary's view of Hinduism. "But, Grandpapa," I said, "is the Missionary right in saying that Hinduism is a false religion, and that Christianity is the only true religion?" My grandfather replied as follows:

"God is One but men are many. To each man God has given his own peculiar religion to follow. Man's religion is determined for him according to the race he is born in. It happened in this way. Once upon a time a Christian, a Mahomedan and a Hindu approached God. The Christian asked: "How am I to worship Thee, O Lord?" God made a cross of two

fingers of His hand and so Christians worship the Cross. The Mahomedan next asked the same question. God held up the palm of his hand and showed him the five fingers of His hand. Therefore Mahomedans worship God in the form of those five fingers. Last of all the Hindu enquired likewise. To him God showed Himself as an idol and bade him worship God in that form." "If that is so," I asked my grandfather, "all the three religions are true. Why then does the Christian Missionary abuse our Hindu religion as false?" My grandfather quieted me with the following answer:

"Each man ought to be proud of his own religion. So the Christian is proud of his. My boy, be proud of your own religion and be tolerant of the rest! Listen quietly to the Missionary but go on your own way, not minding what he says but following the religion prescribed by God to us, Hindus."

I cite this for the purpose of illustrating my point that Hinduism is a religion of toleration sometimes carried to excess. It has no aggressiveness about it. It has enrolled even the Apostle of Atheism - Kapila - as one of its objects of worship. Thus Hinduism survives by yielding even where it ought not to yield and perpetuates among other evils the evil of caste and race differences.

The defect of Mahomedanism is that it errs on the other side - it is intolerant. It treats all races not brought within its fold as "infidels." That proves a hindrance to the right evolution of the race problem and racial differences.

Christianity as taught by Christ is wisely tolerant. He lived and taught by

Working miracles
Not on the waves and winds but in the wills
Of men, upon the hearts of multitudes,
Healing, restoring, blessing.

But the question is whether Christianity, meaning by it the Christianity of the Churches, has been "healing, restoring, blessing." by walking in the footsteps of the Master as it should. The doctrine of "the White Man's Burden," "the Open Door," and other phrases of modern polity in Europe have intensified the problem of racial differences with the result that, as remarked by the Archbishop of York in his address at the

Church Congress held at Sheffield (England) in October, 1922, "Religion attracts but the Church repels." The Church repels because it has not kept faith with the Master as it should and has left the field of the race problem to politicians, statesmen and economists who have no vision beyond "my country and race, right or wrong."

IV. What do you conceive to be the right solution of race problems? In what senses are races equal or to be considered equal? What is your view of ^{racial} inter-marriage?

In my answer to Question No. 2 I have stated what, in my opinion, are the processes or forces to be employed for the removal of the superficial variations of the different races. To that I would here add that the right solution of race problems primarily depends on Education.

Dr. Lester F. Ward, a great American authority upon the New Science of Sociology, has said in his book "Applied Sociology," that the only solution of racial problems lies in Education. "Wars," so stated the London Times Literary Supplement, in its issue of the 16th July, 1921, "are made in class rooms before they ever come up for discussion in the Council room of the States." The last war, which has made havoc of the world and laid bare the evils of modern civilization was due (it is generally admitted) to the fact that the wells of youth had been poisoned by false notions of patriotism, and nationality taught and encouraged in the home and the school. If we are to solve the race problem, we must first solve the educational problem. The future citizens of a country must be caught young for that purpose. The education of a people does not mean education in schools and colleges only. It means the home also. Both in the home and the class room an atmosphere of wholesome patriotism and sound nationality should be created. Youth should be taught and brought up on and in the idea that patriotism and nationality are and ought to be paths leading to love of the human race - the brotherhood of the races. It is a wise saying of Bacon's: "If I might control the literature of the household I would guarantee the well-being of the Church and the State." How can peace and amity be secured among the different races when in the class rooms and homes youth are fed, so to say, on knowledge fostering false notions of love of one's own country and race hatred or jealousy or contempt of other races?

It is just three years since I had a painful experience in this matter. An Indian friend of mine, who occupies a high position as a member of the Indian Civil Service - a gentleman who has been to England and moved in English society and is

widely cultured - was staying in a Hotel with his accomplished wife - also an Indian - and their son, a boy, ten years of age. In the same Hotel resided a European lady with her son, about six years old. I used to go every morning to the Hotel to see my Indian friend and his wife. For some days I found their son and the European boy playing together on friendly terms. The Indian boy spoke English as well as any English boy and both took kindly to each other. One morning, however, when I went up to the Hotel, I heard the European boy say to the Indian boy: "I am not going to play with you. Don't come near me. Mamma has asked me not to play with you, not to speak to you because you are a black man." This is how race conceit and hatred are fostered in the home.

Home life, they say, is gradually declining in Europe and America and is being replaced by club life. I do not know how far that is true. But a good home or family life is the fountain of sound national life. The right solution of the race problem must begin with sound education in the atmosphere of the home and the class room. The infinite worth of man, whatever his race, of even the downmost man, should animate that atmosphere.

The present is an industrial and economical age; and its industrial and economical arrangements have proceeded on lines which intensify the evil of class and racial differences. The right solution of the race problem will come of the Age realizes the value of the conclusions arrived at in 1920 by the Conference, held at Lambeth and composed of 253 Bishops of the Anglican Church. In the Report issued by the Conference they say that experience has shown that the doctrine that the best possible condition of society as a whole is that in which different individuals, sections, interests, or classes pursue their own self interest is absolutely false; and that nothing less than a fundamental change in the spirit and working of our economical life is necessary. And they remark: "This change can only be effected by accepting as the basis of industrial relations the principle of cooperation in service for the common good in place of unrestricted com-

petition for private profit...As God is our Father and as the Eternal Son of God took our whole human nature upon Him, every son and daughter of God is of infinite and equal value. There are wide differences in capacity but such differences do not warrant any loss of liberty or failure to give to the children of God the opportunity of a full human life."

In this alone lies the right solution of the race problem.

Now, as to the question "in what sense are races equal or are considered to be equal."

Races, like individuals who compose a race, may not be equal - in fact are not - in point of intellectual, moral or physical endowments but they are all equal in the sense that every race, like every man, is equally entitled to (1) life, (2) liberty, (3) ^{the} pursuit of happiness. These are the natural rights of every race as of every human being. That every human being is of worth goes without saying. No one in his senses, I believe, disputes that. As to liberty, every race has a right to live its own life and mould its own destiny, and to resist enslavement by another race. If we understand liberty in the only sense in which it makes man worthy - that is to say, the liberty to be a free man of God, living a life of service - a life of self-renouncing love - all races are equally fitted for it.

I think St. Paul has helped us to discern in what sense all races are equal or are considered to be equal. "Are all Apostles? Are all Prophets? Are all Teachers? Are all Workers of Miracles? Have all the gifts of healing? Do all speak with tongues? Do all interpret? But covet earnestly the best gifts." All races are equal in that power to covet which alone can solve the race problem.

As to racial intermarriage, I do not agree with those who disapprove of racial intermarriages and condemn them wholesale as leading to racial degeneracy. Why should an intermarriage prove a failure if it is really a love marriage? Intermarriages have proved unhappy (within my knowledge) because they have not been love marriages. Have not

marriages between persons of the same race proved failures? I would not actively encourage a racial intermarriage. At the same time I would neither actively discourage and condemn it. The prejudice against intermarriage is rooted in racial prejudices and hatred. Remove the causes of the latter - the problem of racial intermarriage will solve itself.

- V. (a) What is the relation of Colour to the race problem?
(b) What is the relation of Race to Nationality?

As to (a):

Though colour has not been the sole determining factor of racial differences and even the different races of the same colour have prejudices against one another, leading to grave misunderstandings, sometimes ending in wars, yet colour is a more potent cause of those differences than anything else. It is in fact day by day proving the greatest hindrance to the solution of the race problem. Judging from the present, the world-struggle of the future threatens to be between the White races and the so-called Coloured races.

As to (b):

Race at one time played a very important part in the formation of nationalities. As pointed out by Mr. A. F. Pollard in his book on "The Evolution of Parliament," "there are various means by which unity has been stamped upon the peoples of the world. In primitive times and backward communities it has been simply a matter of race." But conquest, commerce, and other agencies of modern civilization, which have brought the different races of the world into more or less contact and communion with one another, have tended to minimize the place of race upon nationality. Nationality - a term difficult to define precisely - has grown out of several elusive elements; but in the main it has come to be the product of a common political consciousness. In the words of Renan, "nationality grows among a people composed of different races not out of identity of speech or race but from the fact of having accomplished in the past great things in common with the desire to achieve like things in the future." Nationality, in short, represents the idea of community of State or political sovereignty; a race represents community of blood and descent.

VI. What is the cause of racial prejudice?

The proverb runs: "Blood is thicker than water." That is the root of all prejudice, racial included. To keep one's blood pure is an instinct implanted by Nature in man to conserve all that is good in him. In that respect and so far racial prejudice is a virtue because it conserves society. But we do not often see rightly what is good and what is bad and our habit becomes a second nature, so that in the case of race, differences of colour, customs, manners, and religion intensify racial prejudice. Some years ago an American lady, a Professor in one of the Women's colleges there, visited India. I met her and we had a long interview. In the course of our conversation she narrated to me an incident, which I shall describe here as a pointed illustration of how racial prejudices possess us, as it were, instinctively. The American lady met a fellow passenger on board the steamer carrying her to India. The English lady was coming out to India to join her brother, a military officer, stationed at Poona in the Bombay Presidency, and to keep home for him. The English lady told the American Professor that she felt so keenly interested in the people of India that on arrival at Poona and during her residence there and elsewhere in India, she was going to move among Indians and try to be friendly, useful, and serviceable to them. "But," remarked the American lady, "to be useful and serviceable you shall have to overcome your racial prejudice. You will find Indians different from you in point of colour, habits, customs, and manners; and that may change your mind. Are you prepared to overcome your racial prejudice?" The English lady replied; "Certainly I am prepared and I have no prejudice. I mean to rise above all prejudice." A few days after this conversation, the steamer arrived at the port of Aden. There both ladies with other passengers were watching the sight of black Negroes yelling, diving into the sea and coming up to amuse and get money out of the passengers, as their reward for all their quaint feats in the sea. The English lady, shocked at the sight of the half-naked and black Negro boys and men, said to the American lady: "How queer!" The latter asked:

"Why do you say queer? It is queer because it is a new sight to you. You may more properly call it a strange sight but to say it is queer means it is absurd, unnatural or foolish, but is it so really? Is not your racial prejudice accountable for your view of the sight? Is not your view queer, not the sight?" The English lady said to that: "It did not strike me that way." The American lady advised: "It ought to strike you that way or else your racial prejudice will thwart your resolution to be useful, friendly and sympathetic to the people of India." Racial prejudice is thus the result of differences of colour, customs and habits. The only way to get over it is to educate ourselves, so to say, in what Wordsworth finely calls "the sanctity of Nature given to Man" in

"That kind
Of prepossession without which the soul
Receives no knowledge that can bring forth good,
No genuine insight ever comes to her."

VII. To what extent do the Indians admit or deny feelings either of racial superiority or racial inferiority between themselves and other races?

The bulk of India's people consists of Hindus and Mahomedans. Hindus have from ancient times regarded all other races as Mlenchas (a term carrying the same meaning as the word barbarian which the ancient Greeks used of foreigners with a view to exclude them from Greek morality). But the Hindus, notwithstanding that racial prejudice, have been distinguished for their spirit of toleration, so that their feelings of racial superiority have not been of a hostile or even contemptuous character. The Mahomedans of India share the Mahomedan feeling of racial superiority - all those who are not Mahomedans are "infidels." While that is so, it is to the credit of Indians that their feelings of racial superiority have never been intense and aggressive as those of the European races. But modern politics, I am afraid, are tending to breed in Indians that intensity and aggressiveness of racial superiority.

VIII. Are you yourself aware of having any feelings of race consciousness or racial prejudices?

I am aware of having feelings of race consciousness but I am not, I believe, aware of having any feelings of racial prejudices.

I ought to make myself ^{as} clear as possible as to this answer.

By race consciousness I understand the feeling of legitimate pride one has in one's race by reason of its achievements and contribution to the service of mankind without being blind to its blemishes. Racial prejudice I take to mean the conceit one has of one's own race accompanied by contempt or hatred of or indifference to the interests of other races. Race consciousness is love of other races as love of one's own, because all are parts of one whole. Racial prejudice is loving one's own race at the expense of other races. When Pasteur, on seeing his country, France, conquered and humiliated by Germany in 1870, felt for his race, and, resolving to raise its prestige in the eyes of the whole world and so to remove that stigma of humiliation, devoted himself, heart and soul, to the cause of medical science and relief for the benefit of the whole human race, and when at last he proved one of the world's benefactors, thereby increasing the honour of his race, it was race consciousness which prompted him to his glorious task. Bismarck was an instance of racial prejudice - the man of blood and iron who, proud of his Fatherland, worked to make Germany great at the expense of other races.

The prophets of Israel had race consciousness, no race prejudice.

Above all, the finest illustration of race consciousness was given when Jesus uttered: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killeth the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee: How often would I ^{have} gathered thy children together, as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings, and ye would not: "

IX. In what respects is the caste problem in India like and unlike the inter-racial problem?

Caste in India would seem to have originated in the idea of distinction by colour. That appears from the fact that in those of the ancient Hindu Scriptures in which it is mentioned it is designated by the Sanskrit word Varna, meaning "colour." But the idea of colour has in process of time disappeared altogether from the signification of caste, which has come to be determined solely by the Hindu community in which a person is born. So in respect of that signification, the caste problem and the inter-racial problem are alike. Birth is the determining factor of both. In point of prejudice against inter-dining and intermarriage, both problems are alike but with this difference that, in the case of the inter-racial problem, the prejudice is not necessarily sanctioned by law but only by the social opinion of the race concerned, whereas the prejudice sanctioned by caste had legal sanction from the state. A man who marries outside his caste - and for that purpose race is included in the term caste - lost some of his civil rights and his status, and the children by such marriage were deemed by law illegitimate. That was the original Hindu law but British enactments have softened its rigours to some extent, so that a Hindu can now marry outside his caste or race without any forfeiture of civil rights. Thus both the caste problem and the inter-racial problem have become alike in that the prejudice against inter-dining and intermarriage can be enforced only by social but not legal penalties.

While the two problems so far present common features, the caste problem is day by day becoming more easy of solution than the inter-racial problem. In the first place, caste has survived, after so many centuries of its birth, because it has gone on adapting itself quietly and without revolution or the bloodshed of civil wars to the changing conditions of time and circumstance. It has gone on conquering by yielding. The Hindu is nothing if not an adept in compromise - that is his strength in some respects; his weakness in many. Inter-dining and intermarriages are not treated with the same attitude

of hostility and excommunication and social persecution that they aroused, say, even twenty years ago. The conditions of modern civilization, the play of world forces, and the acuteness of the racial problem both in India and outside where Indians have emigrated and settled, have awakened Hindus to the weakness of their position created by caste distinctions. So caste is losing gradually its old force, whereas the inter-racial problem seems to be gathering strength. In the second place, although caste was an institution devised in its inception for the economical arrangements of society on the principle of division of labor, it has since several centuries ceased to have that economical character. It is now merely a matter of religious and social arrangement, whereas the inter-racial problem is day by day becoming more and more a political and economical problem - a struggle between the different races for political power for economical ends - for food and wealth and over-lordship of the earth.

A N S W E R S

- to -

QUESTIONS FROM "THE BOARD OF FOREIGN
MISSIONS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
IN THE U.S.A., NEW YORK," ON THE INTER-
RACIAL PROBLEM: -

- by -

THE HON. SIR HARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR,
KT., B.A., LL.B., LL.D.,

LATE JUDGE OF THE HIGH COURT, BOMBAY,
EX-VICE CHANCELLOR, UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY
AND NOW PRESIDENT, BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE
COUNCIL.

April 18, 1923.

In preparation for this book I wrote to several friends in Asia, members of different races, asking them for their help. The letter from one of these, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, of Bombay, deserves to be printed in full. It must have been one of the last documents he prepared. It is dated April 18, 1923, and he died on May 14, 1923. Sir Narayan was one of the most remarkable and most honored men in India. His full title and official record ran: The Honorable Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Kt., B.A., L.L.B., L.L.D., Late Judge of the High Court, Bombay, Ex-Vice Chancellor of the University of Bombay, President of the Bombay Legislative Council.

He was a member of the Prarthana Samaj, the most progressive of the Indian reform societies within Hinduism, and a great devotee of the poet Tukaram. But he had strong intellectual and spiritual sympathies with Christianity. In one confession he declared: "I am a Hindu, but I believe in Christ as the highest fulfilment of Hinduism. I have a picture of Christ crucified in my bedroom where I can look daily upon it.....I believe Jesus Christ to be unique in His character, His teaching, His power to save and help men and especially in His dynamic and world-wide social programme. No one else ever did for suffering oppressed humanity what He did. I am a Christian already, yet I cannot dogmatically say that Christ was God. Though a follower of Christ in my daily life I do not take the outward step of baptism because, as at present interpreted in the popular mind, it means not only to accept Christianity but to reject and denounce Hinduism. This I cannot do, for I believe that God has been in our past history and revelation."

And some years ago in an address entitled: "The Kingdom of Christ and the Spirit of the Age," he said: "Let me tell you what I consider the greatest miracle of the present day. It is this: that to this great country, with its 300 millions of people, there should come from a little island, unknown by name even to our forefathers, many thousand miles distant from our shores, and with a population of but fifty or sixty millions, a message so full of spirit and life as the Gospel of Christ. This,

surely, is a miracle if ever there was one. And this message has not only come, but it is finding a response in our hearts. The process of the conversion of India to Christ may not be going on as rapidly as you hope, or in exactly the same manner as you hope but, nevertheless, India is being converted; the ideas that lie at the heart of the Gospel are slowly but surely permeating every part of Hindu society, and modifying every phase of Hindu thoughts."

His statement on the race question will show how these questions appeared to such a mind in India.

I. What is the Origin and what do you conceive to be the Divine Purpose of Race and Racial Differences?

The object of these questions being, as stated in the questionnaire, "to set before our own people the Christian view of race and racial feeling, and the solution of the race problem," I should content myself with starting in these answers with the Biblical view as to the origin of race and racial differences. In Chapter XI of Genesis in the Old Testament we are told that at the beginning of its creation the whole earth was of one language and of one speech. I understand that to mean that but one race of people existed at the beginning of the creation. The Science of Comparative Philology supports that statement of fact. The account in Genesis goes on to say that it came to pass, as the single race that then existed journeyed from the east, they dwelt in the land of Shinar; that they started building a city and a tower; and that the Lord "confounded their language and scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth," to prevent their being "one people," and having "all one language." In Chapter XII of Genesis we have it that God asked Abram to get out of his country and from his kindred, and from his father's house unto a land which God would show him with the object of making him the father of "a great nation." These historical facts, put very pithily in the Bible, show that the family first and the tribe afterwards gave origin to race; and that racial differences have been due to differences of climate, language, religion, traditions, and other circumstances that compose a people's environment. While these main facts of the story in the Bible find support from the discoveries of science and the researches of history, the view propounded in Chapter XI of Genesis that God, having become jealous of the men who started building the city and the tower, confounded their language and scattered them abroad, to restrain their ambition and prevent them from becoming all-powerful against the Almighty, represents the crude primitive view as to the origin of race. The later conception of God is Love promoting Unity, not Jealousy and Fear. The Bible must be studied as a book

dealing with the evolution of Man and the human race - their growth from crude ideas to the highest conceptions of humanity as revealed by the life and teachings of Christ. To the primitive view expressed in Genesis God appeared to deal with men on the principle subsequently enunciated by the Romans for the government of their Empire - the principle, viz., of "divide and rule." That principle has been corrupted to mean that the safety of a ruler lies in breeding differences among the ruled that they may not prove powerful against the ruling authority by reason of union among themselves. But the true meaning of "divide and rule" as the Divine law of life is given to us in Genesis itself and also in some other books of the Old Testament when the writers of those books merely state facts as distinguished from their understanding of the implications of those facts. For instance, the first true glimpse of the Divine law of "divide and rule" is afforded in Chapter IV, Genesis, in the second verse of which we are told that the two sons of Adam and Eve were not alike, because "Abel was a keeper of sheep but Cain was a tiller of the ground." "Orders and degrees," says Milton in the Paradise Lost, "jar not with liberty but well consist." A wise ruler promotes the cause of good government and contributes to Unity among his people by dividing the government into gradations and ranks such as we know now by the name of departments, division of labor, delegated authority, or decentralization. Nature is our best teacher on this point as to the Divine purpose of race and racial differences. It is out of variety and diversity that Nature exhibits her harmony and beauty. The Poet Browning brings that out in these lines: -

"Rather learn and love
Each facet-flash of the revolving year: -
Red, green, and blue, that whirl into white,
The variance, the eventual unity,
Which makes the miracle."

Or take these lines from Wordsworth's Prelude: -

"The immeasurable height
Of woods decaying, never to be decayed,
The stationary blasts of waterfalls,

And in the narrow rout at every turn
Winds thwarting winds, bewildered and forlorn,
The torrents shooting from the clear blue sky,
And rocks that muttered close upon our ears,
Black drizzling orags that spake by the wayside
As if a voice were in them, the sick sight
And giddy prospect of the raving stream,
The unfettered cloud and region of the Heavens,
Tumult and peace, the darkness and the light
Were all like workings of one mind, the features
Of the same face, blossoms upon one tree,
Characters of the great Apocalypse, -
The types and symbols of Eternity,
Of first, and last, and midst, and without end."

In short, unity must come and can only come out of diversity. What doubt is to faith, as an incentive, diversity is to unity. All the different races have each its peculiarity of contribution to the happiness and progress of all the world. All depend upon one another. In St. Paul's phrase, all are intended to be members of one another. No race is nor can be self-sufficient without stunting itself. Even as between and among the people of one race, sameness of all without diversity in points of view, capacity, and personality, is apt to lead to imbecility and retard the cause of truth. "Assemblies that are met," wrote Burke, "and with a resolution to be all of a mind, are assemblies that can have no opinion at all of their own. The first proposal of any measure must be their master." The same law applies to races. Each has its own mission allotted to it by Providence to promote the unity of the world - the brotherhood of the whole human race under the fatherhood of God.

It has been remarked by some writers that two essential problems enter into the problem of Life, viz., (1) the food problem, and (2) the race problem. The former is indispensable for the self-preservation of a race and the latter for its self-realization.

Let me briefly consider the true aspect of each of these problems, on which depends primarily the very existence and continuance of a race.

In its primitive conditions a people belonging to a country have, comparatively speaking, but a few wants, whether in point of food or other necessities of life. But

as they advance in civilization, the wants increase with their standard of life, so that every country comes to be more or less dependent on others. Hence the growing value of commerce. Commerce, which in its accepted sense means the exchange of goods between one country and another, represents the spiritual value of what St. Paul has termed Charity, meaning the brotherliness of love. This interdependence of races or nations for food gives rise to the terms familiar to Political Economy - such as production, distribution, exchange, value, currency, etc. These terms mean that St. Paul's pithy saying that "none of us liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself" applies to races and nations as well. Mr. Harry F. Ward in his book on "The New Social Order" has well pointed out that during the last war "it became glaringly apparent that no nation was sufficient unto itself for its economic life." In 1915, Mr. Lloyd George, who was then the British Prime Minister, said in a public speech that the commandment "love thy neighbor as thyself" is not only good religion but also good business." The idea of Free-Trade first came into the thoughts of the late Mr. Gladstone when he was at the Board of Trade. He saw there a letter from a Chinese Official at Canton to the Head Swell at Peking, suggesting that "no ships should be allowed at Chinese ports without heavy dues but that ships bringing food for the people - that was quite another affair." (Page 193, Sir Algernon West's Diaries.) That puts the Divine purpose of different races in a nutshell, so far as their interdependence in respect of the food problem is concerned.

Writing as a Hindu, I may here supplement what I have said by an appeal to the voice of the Hindu religion in its highest aspects. The Hindu Scriptures declare that "food is the form of Brahma," i.e. the Universal Soul. That is to say, it is a symbol of the Divine - because it is "the life of the whole world." It is a current proverb in India: "Meat and Matrimony are Unifiers."

Turning now to the question of the self-realization of a race as an indispensable condition of Life, we must first settle what self-realization means in the case of a race. In the case of an individual, we know that there are two selves - the animal self

and the spiritual self. Self-realization in the case of an individual means growing from the lower animal to the higher spiritual plane of life, man rising (to use the familiar lines of Tennyson) "on the stepping stones of his dead self." This he can do only by trying to realize in his own person the Ideal of the Absolute, the life of the Universal Soul. What is true of Self-realization in the case of an individual man is also true in the case of his race. Every race has its own peculiar genius, by means of which it is ordained to express and realize itself to fulfill its allotted mission, to make its contribution to the good of humanity as a whole, and thereby to help the cause of the unity of the world and civilization. What St. Paul has explained in Chapter XII of I Corinthians holds good of races as well as individual persons. "There are diversities of gifts but the same spirit; and there are differences of administrations but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations but it is the same God which worketh all in all.....All these worketh that one and the self-same spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will." "There is no difference between the Jew and the Greek, for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him." That this law applies to races also has been so tersely expressed in an article which appeared in the International Journal of Ethics (May, 1921) that I shall take the liberty of citing it here: -

After stating that national genius is expressed only "by aiming at the absolute ideal," that self-consciousness both in a nation and an individual is a hindrance to self-expression and "self-realization," the writer observes, "when a nation has produced great original work, it has not been ^{by} trying to be characteristically national but by seeking to find the absolute truth. It is by keeping steadily in view the ideal and in obedience to the universal claims of truth and love that nationality will reach its highest expression."

To each race then its peculiar genius is given in order that all races may serve one another and out of diversities of gifts constituting the brighter side of racial differences help and promote mutual good. As beautifully sung by the Scotch Divine

(Dr. George Matheson) in his hymn: "One in Christ:"

"Thine is the mystic light that India craves;
Thine is the Parais(?) sin-destroying beam;
Thine is the Buddha's rest from tossing waves;
Thine is the Empire of vast China's dream;

Gather us in.

Thine is the Roman's strength without his pride;
Thine is the Greek's glad world without its graves;
Thine is Judon's law, with Love beside -
The Truth that centres and the Grace that saves.

.....
Within Thy Mansion we have all and more.

Gather us in.

II. What is your definition of race? Are the different races fundamentally unlike or are their variations superficial and removable? If so, to what extent, and through what processes or forces?

I do not feel equal to the task of defining the term race. That is a task for experts.

I should venture to think that the different races are fundamentally alike if by fundamentally we mean at the core. The proverbial sayings that "human nature is the same everywhere," and that "one touch of nature makes the whole world kin," record centuries of world-wide experience. Years ago an English Divine - Rev. Mr. Fielding - wrote and published a book on "The Soul of a People," which then attracted much attention. The author there described the character of the people of Burmah and displayed an insight into it which was the result of his personal contact with and life for a number of years amongst them in their own country. The purport of the book was that it is one Soul, one human heart with the Divine as its indwelling Spirit, which animates all the different races of mankind; that such racial differences as divide peoples and lead to mutual hatred are, however strongly marked, more or less superficial and can be removed by mutual sympathy between race and race. Since then, I believe, "the soul of a people" has become not only a classic phrase but a familiar expression in literature representing the truth embodied in the English proverbs above cited. Similar proverbs have been from ancient times current in India. It should be easy to prove by facts from history that racial differences are superficial and that fundamentally - meaning, at the bottom, - deep down in the recesses of the human heart - all races are alike. The celebrated Darwin, to whom we owe the doctrine of Evolution, has told us that certain Fuegians, who were brought to England in his time, were found by him on close examination to be at the bottom not unlike Englishmen or any other civilized race. The Africans who loved the great Livingstone, and served him faithfully, ready to die for him; the Samoans whom Louis Stevenson gathered about him and who became his ardent followers on account of his

loving service to them, so much so that they built a road in his honor and called it "The Road of the Loving Heart" because they called him "the loving heart," - these are not stray illustrations from actual life. The Old Testament has made us familiar with the expression that "the Ethiopian cannot change his skin." The skin no doubt is tough and it may not be easy to eradicate the habits and qualities, mental and moral, due to the environment of climate, religion, and traditions which it connotes and breeds. But after all the skin is an external covering of the human body and if you creep inside it, you can discover God in the germ in every man, woman and child of every human race. The Biblical saying that an Ethiopian cannot change his skin has been taken to mean that racial nature is ineradicable. If that is so, why has the Bible used the word "skin" instead of employing the word "nature" to convey that idea? The studious use of the word "skin" is significant. And, as General Gordon used to say, we must creep inside the skin of a man to find his human point of view. The same God dwells in all - our differences ^{are} after all but skin-deep.

While that is so, to each race is given its own genius. The ancient Greek was different from the ancient Romans; the Jews had their own racial characteristics. Just as every individual has his own personality differentiating him from other individuals, so every race has its own peculiarities, enabling it to develop itself on their lines and thereby contribute to the civilization of mankind as a whole. These peculiarities may prove a blessing if the development on their basis is directed by the knowledge and consciousness that all the races are the children of one God bound together by the chain of the brotherhood of Love. They prove a curse where the race becomes hidebound and is led by conceit of itself and treats other races as inferior doomed by nature to serfdom.

I think that such of the racial variations as are skin-deep, due to the environment, traditions, and religion of a race and as retard its progress can be removed without detriment to or loss of those racial variations which constitute the peculiar genius of the race fitting it to contribute its quote to the civilization of mankind as a whole.

The racial variations which have proved a hindrance to that civilization have persisted either because some races have lived a self-contained life of isolation, hidebound and separated from the rest of the civilized world, or because when they have been brought into contact with it, the more civilized and powerful race has treated the backward race as a race of helots, doomed by nature to inferiority, and exploited it for its own aggrandisement. The idea has prevailed that some races have been created by God as superior beings, destined to lord it over other races doomed to inferiority and remain in the lower scale of civilization. This idea dates from the ancient times and has done much mischief in our own days owing to a misunderstanding of the laws of biology and the doctrine of Evolution made familiar to us in the nineteenth century by Darwin and Spencer. At the Annual Meeting of the Universities Mission to Central Africa held in London in May, 1921, Bishop Gore presiding, Archdeacon H. W. Woodward, who had served the Mission since 1878, recounted his experiences which illustrate the way in which this race problem is treated by some European races in the name of Christianity. Archdeacon Woodward said:

"We are told that the best way to civilize the African is to make him work. That depends upon what is meant by civilization. Work does not necessarily Christianize and does not necessarily lead a man to Christianity. Once a man told me that the best way to help the Africans was to teach them to love strong drink and then they would work well in order to get money to buy it. He was a man with a title. I have often talked with settlers on the subject of work and they speak as though it were the remedy for all evils of body and soul." (See The Guardian; a London Weekly; 30th May, 1921; page 372)

The Venerable Archdeacon further stated:

"I was in that country ten years before any other Europeans (except the members of the Mission) came to it. I know that the general moral character of the tribe was higher than it is at the present time. Conduct, which would have been then condemned by the whole tribe, is now treated as a matter of no consequence. I will not say that this is entirely due to the presence of Europeans. It is due also very much to the

presence of foreign laborers like the Chinese and the Japanese. It has made our work harder than it would have been. It has been made harder still by the aloofness from religion on the part of many of our European brothers. In pre-war days the people looked upon most Europeans as non-Christians, if not absolute heathen. It was thought a most remarkable thing last year when an Assistant Political Officer went into a Church to say his prayers. The news went ^{through} all the country."

As another illustration of the mischievous and false view which a superior race takes of the races it considers inferior, I would cite what Lord Stanmore told the British Parliament in 1907. He said that a very large proportion of white settlers in Fiji held the view that the natives there ought to be deprived of the ownership of lands, because the natives would then be obliged to sell their labor. The late Hon. James Mason, a large planter and a member of the Legislative Council in Fiji, met His Lordship one day and grumbled at the state of things generally and the state of planting. Lord Stanmore said to him: he had just been moving about the Colony and witnessed more prosperity than had been two years ago, - in every native village new and better houses and extended civilization, the people looking well-fed, and happy, more pigs and more poultry. Mr. Mason's reply was: "Yes, Sir, of course they are better off; and they are much better off; but we do not want them to be better off; we want them to be ill-off; when they are ill-off, they will come and work for us but when they are well off, they will not." Lord Stanmore, having recounted that experience, told Parliament:

"I took these words down at the time, and I have often thought of them since. They are an index of the antipathy which is displayed on the part of many settlers to native occupation of land." (See the Official Reports of Parliamentary Debates; House of Commons; IVth Series; Vol. 178; Cols. 476 & 478.

This exploitation of the backward races by those higher in civilization are really at the root of the mischiefs due to the race problems. Providence has intended that the different races should be inter-dependent and history shows that races have risen in the scale of civilization by coming into contact with one another; but that con-

tact should be one of sympathy, of love as the golden rule of life for all races, and not of one exploitation for greed and selfish interests. History also proves - and the Bible is the most terse and trenchant history on the subject - that a superior race which exploits an inferior race for its own interests and aggrandisement digs its own grave by contracting the vices of the latter - giving to the world (as the Italian statesman Cavour said) a great lesson and teaching the most powerful nations that their crimes and their errors recoil sooner or later on those who commit them.

It follows then:

1. Providence has intended that the different races should be interdependent. It is a law of nature that a race which lives isolated from the rest of the world lives a life of stagnation and decay.
2. Conquest and commerce are the two main agencies employed by Providence to bring the different races into contact with one another and learn from and help one another.
3. Races superior in point of civilization should help the inferior races, when they come in contact with the latter by means whether of conquest or commerce, by diffusing the blessings of education, sound religion, sanitation and the like. It should not be the help of exploitation. The inferior race should be encouraged to stand on its own legs instead of being treated as inferior, doomed to servitude and unfit to rise in the scale of civilization. Christ's teaching: "Be ye perfect as your Father in Heaven is perfect." "Be ye Merciful as your Father in Heaven is Merciful" is the soundest principle for wholesome practice in the regulation of intercourse between superior and inferior races. It is by following Christ's golden rule of Life that racial differences can be gradually removed and the two Divine agencies of world-unity - conquest and commerce - be used, not abused, in fulfilment of the Divine purpose of racial differences. There is no other sovereign remedy for the eradication of those differences. It is a long and perhaps painful process, but as St. Paul truly said in

Romans VIII:

"We know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now. We are saved by hopeLikewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities And we know all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose... Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us."

To what extent racial differences can be removed is a question which it is difficult to answer. Ours is to work, directed by the golden rule of Christ - the results are in His hands, whose instruments we are. So far as the world has moved forward, it has moved by the light of that rule.

"Nothing," wrote Kant, "can possibly be conceived in the world or out of it, which can be considered good without qualification except a good-will. Intelligence, wit, judgment, and other talents of the mind, however they may be named, or courage, resolution, perseverance, as qualities of temperament, are undoubtedly good and desirable in many respects; but these gifts of nature may become extremely bad and mischievous, if the Will which is to make use of them and which, therefore constitutes what is called Character is not good."

On that Mr. Pringle Pattison in his Giffard Lectures on The Idea of God remarks: "The most perfect realization of unity in variety is as naught, if there is nowhere anything to which we can attach this predicate of Value."

This principle of good will is in theory praised. There is no conquering nation which has denied in profession at least that its duty is to govern the conquered for the good of the latter. But the practice has more or less departed from the profession and measures designed in reality to serve the selfish interests of the conqueror have been supported on the ground that they are for the good of the conquered. That has been more or less the character of modern diplomacy. The ancient conquerors, not having the benefit of expanded ideas of religion and the brotherhood of the human race which we moderns have, made their professions consistent with their practice. Modern conquerors have no

excuse for the camouflage which marks the dealings of most, if not all of them, with the backward races, whether conquered or not.

4. The scholars and learned men of the different races should form a brotherhood and become the bond of union among them. Emerson has well defined a scholar as a man of all climes and ages. The Universities as seats of learning should take up this question and become among the centres for propagating the ideas of human brotherhood and propagate correct ideas on racial differences.

5. The Press has come to be a most powerful agency for spreading ideas and forming opinions in these times. It is to this age what the Prophets were to the old ages. While the Press has done much good to the world, it has done much harm also. As has been said, wars and racial animosities have often been made by the Press. The worst of it is that with the growth of industrialism and commerce, the Press has also been becoming more and more a commercial venture, festering racial prejudices and pandering to racial vanity. The prophet of the age is becoming its pedlar. In these times of democracy, men and women hang on the newspapers and have no time to think or reason for themselves. It is a great deal in the hands of the Press to diffuse sound ideas on the question of race and racial differences.

6. Above all, the churches should fulfil their proper function by insisting that races shall deal with one another on the cardinal principle of religion embodied in Christ's teaching: "Love thy neighbor as thyself;" "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." It has been recorded of Alfred the Great that he gathered the laws of England together and ordered many to be written which the forefathers of Englishmen had held; he promulgated such of those laws as he approved, rejected those he disapproved and had other ordinances enacted with the counsel of his Witan; and he introduced the laws so enacted by quoting these rare and everlasting words of Jesus: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." And quoting that he added: "By this one commandment a man shall know whether he does right, and then he will require no other law book."

III. What is the teaching of Hinduism and Mahomedanism with regard to race? Please compare these religions and Christianity in their relation to the race problem.

Hinduism: To understand the teaching of Hinduism with regard to race, it is necessary to bear in mind that Hinduism is not one creed but a conglomeration of creeds, ranging from the highest form of Monotheism to the lowest form of Animism. Just as Christ preached both to Jew and Gentile. "Be ye perfect as your Father in Heaven is perfect," thereby declaring to men of all races whatsoever, in spite of their racial differences, it is given to be perfect, and grow in point of character and personality, so also the Hindu Scriptures known as the Upanishadas maintain that growth in perfection is open to all and within the reach of all because the Universe and every element, animate or inanimate in it, has the seed of perfection. Just as Christ sought to help that growth by leading His followers step by step, so also Hinduism maintains that men must be led gradually to the attainment of perfection. But there the comparison ends and the contrast begins. Christ chose His followers from amongst the most ignorant and sinful of people. He worked from the bottom to the top. He held before them the ideal of the Absolute and by its help raised them to "perfection." There He proved the true psychologist of human nature. Elevate the lower, the higher are necessarily elevated, being provoked to emulation (to use St. Paul's words). But elevate the higher, it does not follow that the lower are also elevated. Hence Christ devoted his service to the finding and saving of "the lost sheep." Christ has also proved that the masses and the most backward classes can be gradually raised more effectively by a straight and simple appeal to what is called "the tremendous dialectics" and "the audacious logic" of the human heart than by an appeal to the logic of reasoning or the subtleties of Metaphysics or Theology. That was Christ's way of winning men to the path of perfection. He made that path open to all without distinction of race. Hinduism, on the other hand, by its doctrine of caste, has practically inculcated the principle that a man's destiny in life is determined by his birth; he cannot rise into a

higher caste. An appeal to the Absolute, it holds, is for the highly cultured classes only - the lower classes, the average man must be left to conform to lower forms of worship and life. In its operation, this way of Hinduism has had the effect of separating caste from caste and retarding the brotherhood of races. Hinduism for centuries, has banned travel to foreign lands for fear that its followers may get corrupted thereby. At the same time it has allowed foreigners to come and settle in India and live as a separate race. It has never put a bar on immigration from foreign lands and of foreign races into India.

This paradoxical attitude of Hinduism - its fear of the mixture of castes and races its toleration of other races and faiths, represents both its weak and strong points. Toleration is good but when allied to unreasonable fear of corruption from caste and race mixture it leads to stagnation. We see the result - Hinduism has become a mixture of multitudinous creeds and castes and disunion. This evil side of Hinduism has not been without a protest and a revolt against it from within its own fold. That protest and revolt came from Krishna first and after him from the saints of the school called Bhakti (Devotion), whose Bible is the Bhagwad-Gita and who flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries after Christ. According to popular and orthodox Hinduism, the world has passed through certain Ages such as the Golden and the Iron Age; the present Age is called the Age of Kali (the Destroyer). The popular belief about that Age is that it is destined to end in the mixture of castes and races, when anarchy will prevail and each man and each woman will break away from the bonds of authority and religion; and the world will become a chaos first and ruin afterwards.

This Hindu belief formed the subject of a prophecy foretold in a Hindu Purana (mythological book) dating from 1000 B.C. There it is written of the present age: "The man who owns most gold and lavishly distributes it will gain dominion over all. Religion will consist in wasting alms at large and self-willed women will seek for power. They who rule the State will rule the people and abstract the wealth of merchants on the plea of raising taxes. And in the world's last age the rights of man will be confused, no

property be safe." (See this quoted by Sir P. Bannbury in the House of Commons on the 17th May, 1909, in opposing the Budget Resolutions of Mr. Lloyd George: Parl. Deb. Vth Ser: Vol. V: Col. 10). The present Age, then, stands in the eye of popular Hinduism as the Age of Sin and Unrighteousness bringing in its train all the evils of what is called Sankara, an Indian word meaning the corruption and ruin of mankind through mixture of the different races.

Against this belief the Saints I have above mentioned have fought hard and striven to dislodge it. They have praised the present Age as the Age of Hope and Salvation for human kind, especially the weakest and lowest of the human race. They have, therefore, represented it as the Golden Age of the World and described its virtues in glowing terms. According to them, in the past ages the masses were kept down by the higher classes and the true knowledge of God was made inaccessible to them. Rights of humanity were thereby withheld from the masses. But in the present age God has manifested Himself to all, irrespective of caste and race; even the meanest mortal can now win God by simple devotion and a righteous life without the aid of formal rites and ceremonial religion which made religion and life a matter of outward observances in the past and the privilege of the higher castes only. That in essence is the teaching of the Bhagwad-Gita - that God is no respecter of persons or races; that distinctions of Colour (meaning race) have been ordained by Him not by the test of birth, but by the test of each man's qualities and actions. Following that teaching, another Scripture of the Hindus - the Bhagwat Purana - declares that the Golden Age of the World was not in the Past but that the present Kali Age is the Golden Age because it brings together all the different races and castes, high and low, into the lands of brotherhood. This idea is the theme of numerous hymns composed by nearly all the Indian saints. As a sample may be quoted here a hymn of the well known Maratha Saint Tukaram, who is the most popular saint among the masses in Western India and who lived in the sixteenth century A.D. In that hymn he sang:

"God's Liberty has come into the market places of the world. Let all freely

partake of it. Come unto it, ye people of all castes; accept the free gift and share it to your heart's content and be blessed." There is no distinction here of caste between man and man, high or low.

In short, I may adopt the language of St. Paul and say that according to the saints in India, in the present Age we are no longer under the dominion of the Law (called the Shastras by Hinduism) but we are under grace, called upon to "serve in newness of spirit and not in the oldness of the letter." This is the common meeting ground for Hinduism and Christianity with reference to the race problem.

Coming now to the question of the race problem as viewed by Mahomedanism, the Prophet Mahomed made no distinction between race and race - he opened his creed to all.

Now, to compare Hinduism, Mahomedanism and Christianity in their relation to the race problem, the defect of Hinduism (in its popular sense) is that it regards racial differences as natural and countenances the idea of fatalism. Hinduism is a religion of toleration - its doctrine is "Live and let live." These words sum up its popular creed. When I was a boy and was sent to a school kept by a Christian Missionary, the Missionary who taught us the Bible, every day for an hour, used to denounce Hinduism in violent terms. My maternal grandfather, who brought me up and sent me to the school for education was an orthodox Brahmin. I naturally resented the Missionary's abuse of Hinduism. One day, unable to stand the abuse any longer, I complained to my grandfather. Instead of resenting the conduct of the Missionary, my grandfather counselled me to pay no heed to the Missionary's view of Hinduism. "But, Grandpapa," I said, "is the Missionary right in saying that Hinduism is a false religion, and that Christianity is the only true religion?" My grandfather replied as follows:

"God is One but men are many. To each man God has given his own peculiar religion to follow. Man's religion is determined for him according to the race he is born in. It happened in this way. Once upon a time a Christian, a Mahomedan and a Hindu approached God. The Christian asked: "How am I to worship Thee, O Lord?" God made a cross of two

fingers of His hand and so Christians worship the Cross. The Mahomedan next asked the same question. God held up the palm of his hand and showed him the five fingers of His hand. Therefore Mahomedans worship God in the form of those five fingers. Last of all the Hindu enquired likewise. To him God showed Himself as an idol and bade him worship God in that form." "If that is so," I asked my grandfather, "all the three religions are true. Why then does the Christian Missionary abuse our Hindu religion as false?" My grandfather quieted me with the following answer:

"Each man ought to be proud of his own religion. So the Christian is proud of his. My boy, be proud of your own religion and be tolerant of the rest! Listen quietly to the Missionary but go on your own way, not minding what he says but following the religion prescribed by God to us, Hindus."

I cite this for the purpose of illustrating my point that Hinduism is a religion of toleration sometimes carried to excess. It has no aggressiveness about it. It has enrolled even the Apostle of Atheism - Kapila - as one of its objects of worship. Thus Hinduism survives by yielding even where it ought not to yield and perpetuates among other evils the evil of caste and race differences.

The defect of Mahomedanism is that it errs on the other side - it is intolerant. It treats all races not brought within its fold as "infidels." That proves a hindrance to the right solution of the race problem and racial differences.

Christianity as taught by Christ is wisely tolerant. He lived and taught by

Working miracles
Not on the waves and winds but in the wills
Of men, upon the hearts of multitudes,
Healing, restoring, blessing.

But the question is whether Christianity, meaning by it the Christianity of the Churches, has been "healing, restoring, blessing." by walking in the footsteps of the Master as it should. The doctrine of "the White Man's Burden," "the Open Door," and other phrases of modern polity in Europe have intensified the problem of racial differences with the result that, as remarked by the Archbishop of York in his address at the

Church Congress held at Sheffield (England) in October, 1932, "Religion attracts but the Church repels." The Church repels because it has not kept faith with the Master as it should and has left the field of the race problem to politicians, statesmen and economists who have no vision beyond "my country and race, right or wrong."

IV. What do you conceive to be the right solution of race problems? In what senses are races equal or to be considered equal? What is your view of ^{racial} inter-marriage?

In my answer to question No. 2 I have stated what, in my opinion, are the processes or forces to be employed for the removal of the superficial variations of the different races. To that I would here add that the right solution of race problems primarily depends on Education.

Dr. Lester F. Ward, a great American authority upon the New Science of Sociology, has said in his book "Applied Sociology," that the only solution of racial problems lies in Education. "Wars," so stated the London Times Literary Supplement, in its issue of the 16th July, 1921, "are made in class rooms before they ever come up for discussion in the Council rooms of the States." The last war, which has made havoc of the world and laid bare the evils of modern civilization was due (it is generally admitted) to the fact that the wells of youth had been poisoned by false notions of patriotism, and nationality taught and encouraged in the home and the school. If we are to solve the race problem, we must first solve the educational problem. The future citizens of a country must be caught young for that purpose. The education of a people does not mean education in schools and colleges only. It means the home also. Both in the home and the class room an atmosphere of wholesome patriotism and sound nationality should be created. Youth should be taught and brought up on and in the idea that patriotism and nationality are and ought to be paths leading to love of the human race - the brotherhood of the races. It is a wise saying of Bacon's; "If I might control the literature of the household I would guarantee the well-being of the Church and the State." How can peace and amity be secured among the different races when in the class rooms and homes youth are fed, so to say, on knowledge fostering false notions of love of one's own country and race hatred or jealousy or contempt of other races?

It is just three years since I had a painful experience in this matter. An Indian friend of mine, who occupies a high position as a member of the Indian Civil Service - a gentleman who has been to England and moved in English society and is

widely cultured - was staying in a Hotel with his accomplished wife - also an Indian - and their son, a boy, ten years of age. In the same Hotel resided a European lady with her son, about six years old. I used to go every morning to the Hotel to see my Indian friend and his wife. For some days I found their son and the European boy playing together on friendly terms. The Indian boy spoke English as well as any English boy and both took kindly to each other. One morning, however, when I went up to the Hotel, I heard the European boy say to the Indian boy: "I am not going to play with you. Don't come near me. My mother has asked me not to play with you, not to speak to you because you are a black man." This is how race conceit and hatred are fostered in the home.

Home life, they say, is gradually declining in Europe and America and is being replaced by club life. I do not know how far that is true. But a good home or family life is the fountain of sound national life. The right solution of the race problem must begin with sound education in the atmosphere of the home and the class room. The infinite worth of man, whatever his race, of even the downmost man, should animate that atmosphere.

The present is an industrial and economical age; and its industrial and economical arrangements have proceeded on lines which intensify the evil of class and racial differences. The right solution of the race problem will come if the Age realizes the value of the conclusions arrived at in 1930 by the Conference, held at Lambeth and composed of 253 Bishops of the Anglican Church. In the Report issued by the Conference they say that experience has shown that the doctrine that the best possible condition of society as a whole is that in which different individuals, sections, interests, or classes pursue their own self interest is absolutely false; and that nothing less than a fundamental change in the spirit and working of our economical life is necessary. And they remark: "This change can only be effected by accepting as the basis of industrial relations the principle of cooperation in service for the common good in place of unrestricted com-

petition for private profit...As God is our Father and as the Eternal Son of God took our whole human nature upon Him, every son and daughter of God is of infinite and equal value. There are wide differences in capacity but such differences do not warrant any loss of liberty or failure to give to the children of God the opportunity of a full human life."

In this alone lies the right solution of the race problem.

Now, as to the question "in what sense are races equal or are considered to be equal."

Races, like individuals who compose a race, may not be equal - in fact are not - in point of intellectual, moral or physical endowments but they are all equal in the sense that every race, like every man, is equally entitled to (1) life, (2) liberty, (3) ^{the} pursuit of happiness. These are the natural rights of every race as of every human being. That every human being is of worth goes without saying. No one in his senses, I believe, disputes that. As to liberty, every race has a right to live its own life and mould its own destiny, and to resist enslavement by another race. If we understand liberty in the only sense in which it makes man worthy - that is to say, the liberty to be a free man of God, living a life of service - a life of self-renouncing love - all races are equally fitted for it.

I think St. Paul has helped us to discern in what sense all races are equal or are considered to be equal. "Are all Apostles? Are all Prophets? Are all Teachers? Are all Workers of Miracles? Have all the gifts of healing? Do all speak with tongues? Do all interpret? But covet earnestly the best gifts." All races are equal in that power to covet which alone can solve the race problem.

As to racial intermarriage, I do not agree with those who disapprove of racial intermarriages and condemn them wholesale as leading to racial degeneracy. Why should an intermarriage prove a failure if it is really a love marriage? Intermarriages have proved unhappy (within my knowledge) because they have not been love marriages. Have not

marriages between persons of the same race proved failures? I would not actively encourage a racial intermarriage. At the same time I would neither actively discourage and condemn it. The prejudice against intermarriage is rooted in racial prejudices and hatred. Remove the causes of the latter - the problem of racial intermarriage will solve itself.

7. (a) What is the relation of Colour to the race problem?
(b) What is the relation of Race to Nationality?

As to (a):

Though colour has not been the sole determining factor of racial differences and even the different races of the same colour have prejudices against one another, leading to grave misunderstandings, sometimes ending in wars, yet colour is a more potent cause of those differences than anything else. It is in fact day by day proving the greatest hindrance to the solution of the race problem. Judging from the present, the world-struggle of the future threatens to be between the White races and the so-called Coloured races.

As to (b):

Race at one time played a very important part in the formation of nationalities. As pointed out by Mr. A. F. Pollard in his book on "The Evolution of Parliament," "there are various means by which unity has been stamped upon the peoples of the world. In primitive times and backward communities it has been simply a matter of race." But conquest, commerce, and other agencies of modern civilization, which have brought the different races of the world into more or less contact and communion with one another, have tended to minimize the place of race upon nationality. Nationality - a term difficult to define precisely - has grown out of several elusive elements; but in the main it has come to be the product of a common political consciousness. In the words of Renan, "nationality grows among a people composed of different races not out of identity of speech or race but from the fact of having accomplished in the past great things in common with the desire to achieve like things in the future." Nationality, in short, represents the idea of community of State or political sovereignty; a race represents community of blood and descent.

VI. What is the cause of racial prejudice?

The proverb runs: "Blood is thicker than water." That is the root of all prejudice, racial included. To keep one's blood pure is an instinct implanted by Nature in man to conserve all that is good in him. In that respect and so far racial prejudice is a virtue because it conserves society. But we do not often see rightly what is good and what is bad and our habit becomes a second nature, so that in the case of race, differences of colour, customs, manners, and religion intensify racial prejudice. Some years ago an American lady, a Professor in one of the Women's colleges there, visited India. I met her and we had a long interview. In the course of our conversation she narrated to me an incident, which I shall describe here as a pointed illustration of how racial prejudices possess us, as it were, instinctively. The American lady met a fellow passenger on board the steamer carrying her to India. The English lady was coming out to India to join her brother, a military officer, stationed at Poona in the Bombay Presidency, and to keep home for him. The English lady told the American Professor that she felt so keenly interested in the people of India that on arrival at Poona and during her residence there and elsewhere in India, she was going to move among Indians and try to be friendly, useful, and serviceable to them. "But," remarked the American lady, "to be useful and serviceable you shall have to overcome your racial prejudice. You will find Indians different from you in point of colour, habits, customs, and manners; and that may change your mind. Are you prepared to overcome your racial prejudice?" The English lady replied: "Certainly I am prepared and I have no prejudice. I mean to rise above all prejudice." A few days after this conversation, the steamer arrived at the port of Aden. There both ladies with other passengers were watching the sight of black Negroes yelling, diving into the sea and coming up to amuse and get money out of the passengers, as their reward for all their quaint feats in the sea. The English lady, shocked at the sight of the half-naked and black Negro boys and men, said to the American lady: "How queer!" The latter asked:

"Why do you say queer? It is queer because it is a new sight to you. You may more properly call it a strange sight but to say it is queer means it is absurd, unnatural or foolish, but is it so really? Is not your racial prejudice acceptable for your view of the sight? Is not your view queer, not the sight?" The English lady said to that: "It did not strike me that way." The American lady advised: "It ought to strike you that way or else your racial prejudice will thwart your resolution to be useful, friendly and sympathetic to the people of India." Racial prejudice is thus the result of differences of colour, customs and habits. The only way to get over it is to educate ourselves, so to say, in what Wordsworth finely calls "the sanctity of nature given to Man" in

"That kind
Of prepossession without which the soul
Receives no knowledge that can bring forth good,
No genuine insight ever comes to her."

VII. To what extent do the Indians admit or deny feelings either of racial superiority or racial inferiority between themselves and other races?

The bulk of India's people consists of Hindus and Mahomedans. Hindus have from ancient times regarded all other races as Mlenchas (a term carrying the same meaning as the word barbarian which the ancient Greeks used of foreigners with a view to exclude them from Greek morality). But the Hindus, notwithstanding that racial prejudice, have been distinguished for their spirit of toleration, so that their feelings of racial superiority have not been of a hostile or even contemptuous character. The Mahomedans of India share the Mahomedan feeling of racial superiority - all those who are not Mahomedans are "infidels." While that is so, it is to the credit of Indians that their feelings of racial superiority have never been intense and aggressive as those of the European races. But modern politics, I am afraid, are tending to breed in Indians that intensity and aggressiveness of racial superiority.

VIII. Are you yourself aware of having any feelings of race consciousness or racial prejudices?

I am aware of having feelings of race consciousness but I am not, I believe, aware of having any feelings of racial prejudices.

I ought to make myself clear ^{as} as possible as to this answer.

By race consciousness I understand the feeling of legitimate pride one has in one's race by reason of its achievements and contribution to the service of mankind without being blind to its blemishes. Racial prejudice I take to mean the conceit one has of one's own race accompanied by contempt or hatred of or indifference to the interests of other races. Race consciousness is love of other races as love of one's own, because all are parts of one whole. Racial prejudice is loving one's own race at the expense of other races. When Pasteur, on seeing his country, France, conquered and humiliated by Germany in 1870, felt for his race, and, resolving to raise its prestige in the eyes of the whole world and so to remove that stigma of humiliation, devoted himself, heart and soul, to the cause of medical science and relief for the benefit of the whole human race, and when at last he proved one of the world's benefactors, thereby increasing the honour of his race, it was race consciousness which prompted him to his glorious task. Bismarck was an instance of racial prejudice - the man of blood and iron who, proud of his Fatherland, worked to make Germany great at the expense of other races.

The prophets of Israel had race consciousness, no race prejudice.

Above all, the finest illustration of race consciousness was given when Jesus uttered: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killeth the prophets and stonest them that are sent unto thee! How often would I ^{have} gathered thy children together, as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings, and ye would not: "

IX. In what respects is the caste problem in India like and unlike the inter-racial problem?

Caste in India would seem to have originated in the idea of distinction by colour. That appears from the fact that in those of the ancient Hindu Scriptures in which it is mentioned it is designated by the Sanskrit word Varaa, meaning "colour." But the idea of colour has in process of time disappeared altogether from the signification of caste, which has come to be determined solely by the Hindu community in which a person is born. So in respect of that signification, the caste problem and the inter-racial problem are alike. Birth is the determining factor of both. In point of prejudice against inter-dining and intermarriage, both problems are alike but with this difference that, in the case of the inter-racial problem, the prejudice is not necessarily sanctioned by law but only by the social opinion of the race concerned, whereas the prejudice sanctioned by caste had legal sanction from the state. A man who marries outside his caste - and for that purpose race is included in the term caste - lost some of his civil rights and his status, and the children by such marriage were deemed by law illegitimate. That was the original Hindu law but British enactments have softened its rigours to some extent, so that a Hindu can now marry outside his caste or race without any forfeiture of civil rights. Thus both the caste problem and the inter-racial problem have become alike in that the prejudice against inter-dining and intermarriage can be enforced only by social but not legal penalties.

While the two problems so far present common features, the caste problem is day by day becoming more easy of solution than the inter-racial problem. In the first place, caste has survived, after so many centuries of its birth, because it has gone on adapting itself quietly and without revolution or the bloodshed of civil wars to the changing conditions of time and circumstance. It has gone on conquering by yielding. The Hindu is nothing if not an adept in compromise - that is his strength in some respects; his weakness in many. Inter-dining and intermarriages are not treated with the same attitude

of hostility and excommunication and social persecution that they aroused, say, even twenty years ago. The conditions of modern civilization, the play of world forces, and the acuteness of the racial problem both in India and outside where Indians have emigrated and settled, have awakened Hindus to the weakness of their position created by caste distinctions. So caste is losing gradually its old force, whereas the inter-racial problem seems to be gathering strength. In the second place, although caste was an institution devised in its inception for the economical arrangements of society on the principle of division of labor, it has since several centuries ceased to have that economical character. It is now merely a matter of religious and social arrangement, whereas the inter-racial problem is day by day becoming more and more a political and economical problem - a struggle between the different races for political power for economical ends - for food and wealth and over-lordship of the earth.

ANSWERS

- to -

QUESTIONS FROM "THE BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U.S.A., NEW YORK," ON THE INTER-RACIAL PROBLEM: -

- by -

THE HON. SIR HARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR,
KT., B.A., L.L.B., L.L.D.,

LATE JUDGE OF THE HIGH COURT, BOMBAY,
EX-VICE CHANCELLOR, UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY
AND NOW PRESIDENT, BOMBAY LEGISLATIVE
COUNCIL.

April 18, 1923.

In preparation for this book I wrote to several friends in Asia, members of different races, asking them for their help. The letter from one of these, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, of Bombay, deserves to be printed in full. It must have been one of the last documents he prepared. It is dated April 18, 1923, and he died on May 14, 1923. Sir Narayan was one of the most remarkable and most honored men in India. His full title and official record ran: The Honorable Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, Kt., B.A., L.L.B., L.L.D., Late Judge of the High Court, Bombay, Ex-Vice Chancellor of the University of Bombay, President of the Bombay Legislative Council.

He was a member of the Prarthana Samaj, the most progressive of the Indian reform societies within Hinduism, and a great devotee of the poet Tukaram. But he had strong intellectual and spiritual sympathies with Christianity. In one confession he declared: "I am a Hindu, but I believe in Christ as the highest fulfillment of Hinduism. I have a picture of Christ crucified in my bedroom where I can look daily upon it.....I believe Jesus Christ to be unique in His character, His teaching, His power to save and help men and especially in His dynamic and world-wide social programme. No one else ever did for suffering oppressed humanity what He did. I am a Christian already, yet I cannot dogmatically say that Christ was God. Though a follower of Christ in my daily life I do not take the outward step of baptism because, as at present interpreted in the popular mind, it means not only to accept Christianity but to reject and denounce Hinduism. This I cannot do, for I believe that God has been in our past history and revelation."

And some years ago in an address entitled: "The Kingdom of Christ and the Spirit of the Age," he said: "Let me tell you what I consider the greatest miracle of the present day. It is this: that to this great country, with its 300 millions of people, there should come from a little island, unknown by name even to our forefathers, many thousand miles distant from our shores, and with a population of but fifty or sixty millions, a message so full of spirit and life as the Gospel of Christ. This,

surely, is a miracle if ever there was one. And this message has not only come, but it is finding a response in our hearts. The process of the conversion of India to Christ may not be going on as rapidly as you hope, or in exactly the same manner as you hope but, nevertheless, India is being converted; the ideas that lie at the heart of the Gospel are slowly but surely permeating every part of Hindu society, and modifying every phase of Hindu thoughts."

His statement on the race question will show how these questions appeared to such a mind in India.

I. What is the Origin and what do you conceive to be the Divine Purpose of Race and Racial Differences?

The object of these questions being, as stated in the Questionnaire, "to set before our own people the Christian view of race and racial feeling, and the solution of the race problem," I should content myself with starting in these answers with the Biblical view as to the origin of race and racial differences. In Chapter XI of Genesis in the Old Testament we are told that at the beginning of its creation the whole earth was of one language and of one speech. I understand that to mean that but one race of people existed at the beginning of the creation. The Science of Comparative Philology supports that statement of fact. The account in Genesis goes on to say that it came to pass, as the single race that then existed journeyed from the east, they dwelt in the land of Shinar; that they started building a city and a tower; and that the Lord "confounded their language and scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth," to prevent their being "one people," and having "all one language." In Chapter XII of Genesis we have it that God asked Abram to get out of his country and from his kindred, and from his father's house unto a land which God would show him with the object of making him the father of "a great nation." These historical facts, put very pithily in the Bible, show that the family first and the tribe afterwards gave origin to race; and that racial differences have been due to differences of climate, language, religion, traditions, and other circumstances that compose a people's environment. While these main facts of the story in the Bible find support from the discoveries of science and the researches of history, the view propounded in Chapter XI of Genesis that God, having become jealous of the men who started building the city and the tower, confounded their language and scattered them abroad, to restrain their ambition and prevent them from becoming all-powerful against the Almighty, represents the crude primitive view as to the origin of race. The later conception of God is Love promoting Unity, not Jealousy and Fear. The Bible must be studied as a book

dealing with the evolution of Man and the human race - their growth from crude ideas to the highest conceptions of humanity as revealed by the life and teachings of Christ. To the primitive view expressed in Genesis God appeared to deal with men on the principle subsequently enunciated by the Romans for the government of their Empire - the principle, viz., of "divide and rule." That principle has been corrupted to mean that the safety of a ruler lies in breeding differences among the ruled that they may not prove powerful against the ruling authority by reason of union among themselves. But the true meaning of "divide and rule" as the Divine law of life is given to us in Genesis itself and also in some other books of the Old Testament when the writers of those books merely state facts as distinguished from their understanding of the implications of those facts. For instance, the first true glimpse of the Divine law of "divide and rule" is afforded in Chapter IV, Genesis, in the second verse of which we are told that the two sons of Adam and Eve were not alike, because "Abel was a keeper of sheep but Cain was a tiller of the ground." "Orders and degrees," says Milton in the Paradise Lost, "far not with liberty but well consist." A wise ruler promotes the cause of good government and contributes to Unity among his people by dividing the government into gradations and ranks such as we know now by the name of departments, division of labor, delegated authority, or decentralization. Nature is our best teacher on this point as to the Divine purpose of race and racial differences. It is out of variety and diversity that Nature exhibits her harmony and beauty. The Poet Browning brings that out in these lines; -

"Rather learn and love
Each facet-flash of the revolving year; -
Red, green, and blue, that whirl into white,
The variance, the eventual unity,
Which makes the miracle."

Or take these lines from Wordsworth's Prelude: -

"The immeasurable height
Of woods decaying, never to be decayed,
The stationary blasts of waterfalls,

And in the narrow rent at every turn
Winds thwarting winds, bewildered and forlorn,
The torrents shooting from the clear blue sky,
And rocks that muttered close upon our ears,
Black drizzling crags that spake by the wayside
As if a voice were in them, the sick sight
And giddy prospect of the raving stream,
The unfettered cloud and region of the Heavens,
Tumult and peace, the darkness and the light
Were all like workings of one mind, the features
Of the same face, blossoms upon one tree,
Characters of the great Apocalypse, -
The types and symbols of Eternity,
Of first, and last, and midst, and without end."

In short, unity must come and can only come out of diversity. What doubt is to faith, as an incentive, diversity is to unity. All the different races have each its peculiarity of contribution to the happiness and progress of all the world. All depend upon one another. In St. Paul's phrase, all are intended to be members of one another. No race is nor can be self-sufficient without stunting itself. Even as between and among the people of one race, sameness of all without diversity in points of view, capacity, and personality, is apt to lead to imbecility and retard the cause of truth. "Assemblies that are met," wrote Burke, "and with a resolution to be all of a mind, are assemblies that can have no opinion at all of their own. The first proposal of any measure must be their master." The same law applies to races. Each has its own mission allotted to it by Providence to promote the unity of the world - the brotherhood of the whole human race under the fatherhood of God.

It has been remarked by some writers that two essential problems enter into the problem of Life, viz., (1) the food problem, and (2) the race problem. The former is indispensable for the self-preservation of a race and the latter for its self-realization.

Let me briefly consider the true aspect of each of these problems, on which depends primarily the very existence and continuance of a race.

In its primitive conditions a people belonging to a country have, comparatively speaking, but a few wants, whether in point of food or other necessities of life. But

as they advance in civilization, the wants increase with their standard of life, so that every country comes to be more or less dependent on others. Hence the growing value of commerce. Commerce, which in its accepted sense means the exchange of goods between one country and another, represents the spiritual value of what St. Paul has termed Charity, meaning the brotherliness of love. This interdependence of races or nations for food gives rise to the terms familiar to Political Economy - such as production, distribution, exchange, value, currency, etc. These terms mean that St. Paul's pithy saying that "none of us liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself" applies to races and nations as well. Mr. Harry F. Ward in his book on "The New Social Order" has well pointed out that during the last war "it became glaringly apparent that no nation was sufficient unto itself for its economic life." In 1915, Mr. Lloyd George, who was then the British Prime Minister, said in a public speech that the commandment "love thy neighbor as self" is not only good religion but also good business." The idea of Free-Trade first came into the thoughts of the late Mr. Gladstone when he was at the Board of Trade. He saw there a letter from a Chinese official at Canton to the Head Swell at Peking, suggesting that "no ships should be allowed at Chinese ports without heavy dues but that ships bringing food for the people - that was quite another affair." (Page 193, Sir Algernon West's Diaries.) That puts the Divine purpose of different races in a nutshell, so far as their interdependence in respect of the food problem is concerned.

Writing as a Hindu, I may here supplement what I have said by an appeal to the voice of the Hindu religion in its highest aspects. The Hindu Scriptures declare that "food is the form of Brahma," i.e. the Universal Soul. That is to say, it is a symbol of the Divine - because it is "the life of the whole world." It is a current proverb in India: "Meat and Matrimony are Unifiers."

Turning now to the question of the self-realization of a race as an indispensable condition of life, we must first settle what self-realization means in the case of a race. In the case of an individual, we know that there are two selves - the animal self

and the spiritual self. Self-realization in the case of an individual means growing from the lower animal to the higher spiritual plane of life, man rising (to use the familiar lines of Tennyson) "on the stepping stones of his dead self." This he can do only by trying to realize in his own person the Ideal of the Absolute, the life of the Universal Soul. What is true of Self-realization in the case of an individual man is also true in the case of his race. Every race has its own peculiar genius, by means of which it is ordained to express and realize itself to fulfill its allotted mission, to make its contribution to the good of humanity as a whole, and thereby to help the cause of the unity of the world and civilization. What St. Paul has explained in Chapter XII of I Corinthians holds good of races as well as individual persons. "There are diversities of gifts but the same spirit; and there are differences of administrations but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations but it is the same God which worketh all in all.....All these worketh that one and the self-same spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will." "There is no difference between the Jew and the Greek, for the same Lord over all is rich unto all that call upon him." That this law applies to races also has been so tersely expressed in an article which appeared in the International Journal of Ethics (May, 1921) that I shall take the liberty of citing it here: -

After stating that national genius is expressed only "by aiming at the absolute ideal," that self-consciousness both in a nation and an individual is a hindrance to self-expression and "self-realization," the writer observes, "when a nation has produced great original work, it has not been ^{by} trying to be characteristically national but by seeking to find the absolute truth. It is by keeping steadily in view the ideal and in obedience to the universal claims of truth and love that nationality will reach its highest expression."

To each race then its peculiar genius is given in order that all races may serve one another and out of diversities of gifts constituting the brighter side of racial differences help and promote mutual good. As beautifully sung by the Scotch Divine

(Dr. George Matheson) in his hymn: "One in Christ:"

"Thine is the mystic light that India craves;
Thine is the Parais(?) sin-destroying beam;
Thine is the Buddha's rest from tossing waves;
Thine is the Empire of vast China's dream;

Gather us in.

Thine is the Roman's strength without his pride;
Thine is the Greek's glad world without its graves:
Thine is Judea's law, with Love beside -
The Truth that centres and the Grace that saves.

.....
Within Thy Mansion we have all and more.

Gather us in.

II. What is your definition of race? Are the different races fundamentally unlike or are their variations superficial and removable? If so, to what extent, and through what processes or forces?

I do not feel equal to the task of defining the term race. That is a task for experts.

I should venture to think that the different races are fundamentally alike if by fundamentally we mean at the core. The proverbial sayings that "human nature is the same everywhere," and that "one touch of nature makes the whole world kin," record centuries of world-wide experience. Years ago an English Divine - Rev. Mr. Fielding - wrote and published a book on "The Soul of a People," which then attracted much attention. The author there described the character of the people of Burmah and displayed an insight into it which was the result of his personal contact with and life for a number of years amongst them in their own country. The purport of the book was that it is one Soul, one human heart with the Divine as its indwelling Spirit, which animates all the different races of mankind; that such racial differences as divide peoples and lead to mutual hatred are, however strongly marked, more or less superficial and can be removed by mutual sympathy between race and race. Since then, I believe, "the soul of a people" has become not only a classic phrase but a familiar expression in literature representing the truth embodied in the English proverbs above cited. Similar proverbs have been from ancient times current in India. It should be easy to prove by facts from history that racial differences are superficial and that fundamentally - meaning, at the bottom, - deep down in the recesses of the human heart - all races are alike. The celebrated Darwin, to whom we owe the doctrine of Evolution, has told us that certain Fuegians, who were brought to England in his time, were found by him on close examination to be at the bottom not unlike Englishmen or any other civilized race. The Africans who loved the great Livingstone, and served him faithfully, ready to die for him; the Samoans whom Louis Stevenson gathered about him and who became his ardent followers on account of his

loving service to them, so much so that they built a road in his honor and called it "The Road of the Loving Heart" because they called him "the loving heart," - these are not stray illustrations from actual life. The Old Testament has made us familiar with the expression that "the Ethiopian cannot change his skin." The skin no doubt is tough and it may not be easy to eradicate the habits and qualities, mental and moral, due to the environment of climate, religion, and traditions which it connotes and breeds. But after all the skin is an external covering of the human body and if you creep inside it, you can discover God in the germ in every man, woman and child of every human race. The Biblical saying that an Ethiopian cannot change his skin has been taken to mean that racial nature is ineradicable. If that is so, why has the Bible used the word "skin" instead of employing the word "nature" to convey that idea? The studious use of the word "skin" is significant. And, as General Gordon used to say, we must creep inside the skin of a man to find his human point of view. The same God dwells in all - our differences ^{are} after all but skin-deep.

While that is so, to each race is given its own genius. The ancient Greek was different from the ancient Romans; the Jews had their own racial characteristics. Just as every individual has his own personality differentiating him from other individuals, so every race has its own peculiarities, enabling it to develop itself on their lines and thereby contribute to the civilization of mankind as a whole. Those peculiarities may prove a blessing if the development on their basis is directed by the knowledge and consciousness that all the races are the children of one God bound together by the chain of the brotherhood of Love. They prove a curse where the race becomes hidebound and is led by conceit of itself and treats other races as inferior doomed by nature to serfdom.

I think that such of the racial variations as are skin-deep, due to the environment, traditions, and religion of a race and as retard its progress can be removed without detriment to or loss of those racial variations which constitute the peculiar genius of the race fitting it to contribute its quote to the civilization of mankind as a whole.

The racial variations which have proved a hindrance to that civilization have persisted either because some races have lived a self-contained life of isolation, hidebound and separated from the rest of the civilized world, or because when they have been brought into contact with it, the more civilized and powerful race has treated the backward race as a race of helots, doomed by nature to inferiority, and exploited it for its own aggrandisement. The idea has prevailed that some races have been created by God as superior beings, destined to lord it over other races doomed to inferiority and remain in the lower scale of civilization. This idea dates from the ancient times and has done much mischief in our own days owing to a misunderstanding of the laws of biology and the doctrine of Evolution made familiar to us in the nineteenth century by Darwin and Spencer. At the Annual Meeting of the Universities Mission to Central Africa held in London in May, 1921, Bishop Gore presiding, Archdeacon H. W. Woodward, who had served the Mission since 1878, recounted his experiences which illustrate the way in which this race problem is treated by some European races in the name of Christianity. Archdeacon Woodward said:

"We are told that the best way to civilize the African is to make him work. That depends upon what is meant by civilization. Work does not necessarily Christianize and does not necessarily lead a man to Christianity. Once a man told me that the best way to help the Africans was to teach them to love strong drink and then they would work well in order to get money to buy it. He was a man with a title. I have often talked with settlers on the subject of work and they speak as though it were the remedy for all evils of body and soul." (See The Guardian; a London Weekly; 20th May, 1921; page 372)

The Venerable Archdeacon further stated:

"I was in that country ten years before any other Europeans (except the members of the Mission) came to it. I know that the general moral character of the tribe was higher than it is at the present time. Conduct, which would have been then condemned by the whole tribe, is now treated as a matter of no consequence. I will not say that this is entirely due to the presence of Europeans. It is due also very much to the

presence of foreign laborers like the Chinese and the Japanese. It has made our work harder than it would have been. It has been made harder still by the aloofness from religion on the part of many of our European brothers. In pre-war days the people looked upon most Europeans as non-Christians, if not absolute heathen. It was thought a most remarkable thing last year when an Assistant Political Officer went into a Church to say his prayers. The news went ^{through} all the country."

As another illustration of the mischievous and false view which a superior race takes of the races it considers inferior, I would cite what Lord Stanmore told the British Parliament in 1907. He said that a very large proportion of white settlers in Fiji held the view that the natives there ought to be deprived of the ownership of lands, because the natives would then be obliged to sell their labor. The late Hon. James Mason, a large planter and a member of the Legislative Council in Fiji, met His Lordship one day and grumbled at the state of things generally and the state of planting. Lord Stanmore said to him: he had just been moving about the Colony and witnessed more prosperity than had been two years ago, - in every native village new and better houses and extended civilization, the people looking well-fed, and happy, more pigs and more poultry. Mr. Mason's reply was: "Yes, Sir, of course they are better off; and they are much better off; but we do not want them to be better off; we want them to be ill-off; when they are ill-off, they will come and work for us but when they are well off, they will not." Lord Stanmore, having recounted that experience, told Parliament:

"I took these words down at the time, and I have often thought of them since. They are an index of the antipathy which is displayed on the part of many settlers to native occupation of land." (See the Official Reports of Parliamentary Debates: House of Commons: IVth Series: Vol. 178; Cols. 476 & 478.

This exploitation of the backward races by those higher in civilization are really at the root of the mischiefs due to the race problems. Providence has intended that the different races should be inter-dependent and history shows that races have risen in the scale of civilization by coming into contact with one another; but that con-

tact should be one of sympathy, of love as the golden rule of life for all races, and not of one exploitation for greed and selfish interests. History also proves - and the Bible is the most terse and trenchant history on the subject - that a superior race which exploits an inferior race for its own interests and aggrandisement digs its own grave by contracting the vices of the latter - giving to the world (as the Italian statesman Cavour said) a great lesson and teaching the most powerful nations that their crimes and their errors recoil sooner or later on those who commit them.

It follows then:

1. Providence has intended that the different races should be interdependent. It is a law of nature that a race which lives isolated from the rest of the world lives a life of stagnation and decay.

2. Conquest and commerce are the two main agencies employed by Providence to bring the different races into contact with one another and learn from and help one another.

3. Races superior in point of civilization should help the inferior races, when they come in contact with the latter by means whether of conquest or commerce, by diffusing the blessings of education, sound religion, sanitation and the like. It should not be the help of exploitation. The inferior race should be encouraged to stand on its own legs instead of being treated as inferior, doomed to servitude and unfit to rise in the scale of civilization. Christ's teaching: "Be ye perfect as your Father in Heaven is perfect." "Be ye Merciful as your Father in Heaven is Merciful" is the soundest principle for wholesome practice in the regulation of intercourse between superior and inferior races. It is by following Christ's golden rule of life that racial differences can be gradually removed and the two Divine agencies of world-unity - conquest and commerce - be used, not abused, in fulfilment of the Divine purpose of racial differences. There is no other sovereign remedy for the eradication of those differences. It is a long and perhaps painful process, but as St. Paul truly said in

Romans VIII:

"We know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now. We are saved by hope Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities And we know all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose... Nay, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us."

To what extent racial differences can be removed is a question which it is difficult to answer. Ours is to work, directed by the golden rule of Christ - the results are in His hands, whose instruments we are. So far as the world has moved forward, it has moved by the light of that rule.

"Nothing," wrote Kant, "can possibly be conceived in the world or out of it, which can be considered good without qualification except a good-will. Intelligence, wit, judgment, and other talents of the mind, however they may be named, or courage, resolution, perseverance, as qualities of temperament, are undoubtedly good and desirable in many respects; but these gifts of nature may become extremely bad and mischievous, if the Will which is to make use of them and which, therefore constitutes what is called Character is not good."

On that Mr. Pringle Pattison in his Giffard Lectures on The Idea of God remarks: "The most perfect realization of unity in variety is as naught, if there is nowhere anything to which we can attach this predicate of Value."

This principle of good will is in theory praised. There is no conquering nation which has denied in profession at least that its duty is to govern the conquered for the good of the latter. But the practice has more or less departed from the profession and measures designed in reality to serve the selfish interests of the conqueror have been supported on the ground that they are for the good of the conquered. That has been more or less the character of modern diplomacy. The ancient conquerors, not having the benefit of expanded ideas of religion and the brotherhood of the human race which we moderns have, made their professions consistent with their practice. Modern conquerors have no

excuse for the camouflage which marks the dealings of most, if not all of them, with the backward races, whether conquered or not.

4. The scholars and learned men of the different races should form a brotherhood and become the bond of union among them. Emerson has well defined a scholar as a man of all climes and ages. The Universities as seats of learning should take up this question and become among the centres for propagating the ideas of human brotherhood and propagate correct ideas on racial differences.

5. The Press has come to be a most powerful agency for spreading ideas and forming opinions in these times. It is to this age what the Prophets were to the old ages. While the Press has done much good to the world, it has done much harm also. As has been said, wars and racial animosities have often been made by the Press. The worst of it is that with the growth of industrialism and commerce, the Press has also been becoming more and more a commercial venture, fostering racial prejudices and pandering to racial vanity. The prophet of the age is becoming its pedlar. In these times of democracy, men and women hang on the newspapers and have no time to think or reason for themselves. It is a great deal in the hands of the Press to diffuse sound ideas on the question of race and racial differences.

6. Above all, the churches should fulfil their proper function by insisting that races shall deal with one another on the cardinal principle of religion embodied in Christ's teaching: "Love thy neighbor as thyself;" "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." It has been recorded of Alfred the Great that he gathered the laws of England together and ordered many to be written which the forefathers of Englishmen had held; he promulgated such of those laws as he approved, rejected those he disapproved and had other ordinances enacted with the counsel of his Witan; and he introduced the laws so enacted by quoting these rare and everlasting words of Jesus: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." And quoting that he added: "By this one commandment a man shall know whether he does right, and then he will require no other law book."

III. What is the teaching of Hinduism and Mahomedanism with regard to race? Please compare these religions and Christianity in their relation to the race problem.

Hinduism: To understand the teaching of Hinduism with regard to race, it is necessary to bear in mind that Hinduism is not one creed but a conglomeration of creeds, ranging from the highest form of Monotheism to the lowest form of Animism. Just as Christ preached both to Jew and Gentile, "Be ye perfect as your Father in Heaven is perfect," thereby declaring to men of all races whatsoever, in spite of their racial differences, it is given to be perfect, and grow in point of character and personality, so also the Hindu Scriptures known as the Upanishadas maintain that growth in perfection is open to all and within the reach of all because the Universe and every element, animate or inanimate in it, has the seed of perfection. Just as Christ sought to help that growth by leading His followers step by step, so also Hinduism maintains that men must be led gradually to the attainment of perfection. But there the comparison ends and the contrast begins. Christ chose His followers from amongst the most ignorant and sinful of people. He worked from the bottom to the top. He held before them the ideal of the Absolute and by its help raised them to "perfection." There He proved the true psychologist of human nature. Elevate the lower, the higher are necessarily elevated, being provoked to emulation (to use St. Paul's words). But elevate the higher, it does not follow that the lower are also elevated. Hence Christ devoted his service to the finding and saving of "the lost sheep." Christ has also proved that the masses and the most backward classes can be gradually raised more effectively by a straight and simple appeal to what is called "the tremendous dialectics" and "the audacious logic" of the human heart than by an appeal to the logic of reasoning or the subtleties of Metaphysics or Theology. That was Christ's way of winning men to the path of perfection. He made that path open to all without distinction of race. Hinduism, on the other hand, by its doctrine of caste, has practically inculcated the principle that a man's destiny in life is determined by his birth; he cannot rise into a

higher caste. An appeal to the Absolute, it holds, is for the highly cultured classes only - the lower classes, the average man must be left to conform to lower forms of worship and life. In its operation, this way of Hinduism has had the effect of separating caste from caste and retarding the brotherhood of races. Hinduism for centuries, has banned travel to foreign lands for fear that its followers may get corrupted thereby. At the same time it has allowed foreigners to come and settle in India and live as a separate race. It has never put a ban on immigration from foreign lands and of foreign races into India.

This paradoxical attitude of Hinduism - its fear of the mixture of castes and races; its toleration of other races and faiths, represents both its weak and strong points. Toleration is good but when allied to unreasonableness and fear of corruption from caste and race mixture it leads to stagnation. We see the result - Hinduism has become a mixture of multitudinous creeds and castes and disunion. This evil side of Hinduism has not been without a protest and a revolt against it from within its own fold. That protest and revolt came from Buddha first and after him from the saints of the school called Bhakti (Devotion), whose Bible is the Bhagwad-Gita and who flourished in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries after Christ. According to popular and orthodox Hinduism, the world has passed through certain Ages such as the Golden and the Iron Age; the present Age is called the Age of Kali (the Destroyer). The popular belief about that Age is that it is destined to end in the mixture of castes and races, when anarchy will prevail and each man and each woman will break away from the bonds of authority and religion; and the world will become a chaos first and ruin afterwards.

This Hindu belief formed the subject of a prophecy foretold in a Hindu Purana (mythological book) dating from 1000 B.C. There it is written of the present age: "The man who owns most gold and lavishly distributes it will gain dominion over all. Religion will consist in wasting alms at large and self-willed women will seek for power. They who rule the State will rule the people and abstract the wealth of merchants on the plea of raising taxes. And in the world's last age the rights of man will be confused, no

property be safe." (See this quoted by Sir P. Banbury in the House of Commons on the 17th May, 1909, in opposing the Budget Resolutions of Mr. Lloyd George: Parl. Deb. Vth Ser: Vol. V. Col. 10). The present Age, then, stands in the eye of popular Hinduism as the Age of Sin and Unrighteousness bringing in its train all the evils of what is called Sankara, an Indian word meaning the corruption and ruin of mankind through mixture of the different races.

Against this belief the Saints I have above mentioned have fought hard and striven to dislodge it. They have praised the present Age as the Age of Hope and Salvation for human kind, especially the weakest and lowest of the human race. They have, therefore, represented it as the Golden Age of the World and described its virtues in glowing terms. According to them, in the past ages the masses were kept down by the higher classes and the true knowledge of God was made inaccessible to them. Rights of humanity were thereby withheld from the masses. But in the present age God has manifested Himself to all, irrespective of caste and race; even the meanest mortal can now win God by simple devotion and a righteous life without the aid of formal rites and ceremonial religion which made religion and life a matter of outward observances in the past and the privilege of the higher castes only. That in essence is the teaching of the Bhagwad-Gita - that God is no respecter of persons or races; that distinctions of Colour (meaning race) have been ordained by Him not by the test of birth, but by the test of each man's qualities and actions. Following that teaching, another Scripture of the Hindus - the Bhagwat Purana - declares that the Golden Age of the World was not in the Past but that the present Kali Age is the Golden Age because it brings together all the different races and castes, high and low, into the bonds of brotherhood. This idea is the theme of numerous hymns composed by nearly all the Indian saints. As a sample may be quoted here a hymn of the well known Maratha Saint Tukaram, who is the most popular saint among the masses in Western India and who lived in the sixteenth century A.D. In that hymn he sang:

"God's Liberty has come into the market places of the world. Let all freely

partake of it. Come unto it, ye people of all castes; accept the free gift and share it to your heart's content and be blessed." There is no distinction here of caste between man and man, high or low.

† In short, I may adopt the language of St. Paul and say that according to the saints in India, in the present Age we are no longer under the dominion of the Law (called the Shastras by Hinduism) but we are under grace, called upon to "serve in newness of spirit and not in the oldness of the letter." This is the common meeting ground for Hinduism and Christianity with reference to the race problem.

Coming now to the question of the race problem as viewed by Mahomedanism, the Prophet Mahomed made no distinction between race and race - he opened his creed to all.

Now, to compare Hinduism, Mahomedanism and Christianity in their relation to the race problem, the defect of Hinduism (in its popular sense) is that it regards racial differences as natural and countenances the idea of fatalism. Hinduism is a religion of toleration - its doctrine is "Live and let live." These words sum up its popular creed. When I was a boy and was sent to a school kept by a Christian Missionary, the Missionary who taught us the Bible, every day for an hour, used to denounce Hinduism in violent terms. My maternal grandfather, who brought me up and sent me to the school for education was an orthodox Brahmin. I naturally resented the Missionary's abuse of Hinduism. One day, unable to stand the abuse any longer, I complained to my grandfather. Instead of resenting the conduct of the Missionary, my grandfather counselled me to pay no heed to the Missionary's view of Hinduism. "But, Grandpapa," I said, "is the Missionary right in saying that Hinduism is a false religion, and that Christianity is the only true religion?" My grandfather replied as follows:

"God is One but men are many. To each man God has given his own peculiar religion to follow. Man's religion is determined for him according to the race he is born in. It happened in this way. Once upon a time a Christian, a Mahomedan and a Hindu approached God. The Christian asked: "How am I to worship Thee, O Lord?" God made a cross of two

fingers of His hand and so Christians worship the Cross. The Mahomedan next asked the same question. God held up the palm of his hand and showed him the five fingers of His hand. Therefore Mahomedans worship God in the form of those five fingers. Last of all the Hindu enquired likewise. To him God showed Himself as an idol and bade him worship God in that form." "If that is so," I asked my grandfather, "all the three religions are true. Why then does the Christian Missionary abuse our Hindu religion as false?" My grandfather quieted me with the following answer:

"Each man ought to be proud of his own religion. So the Christian is proud of his. My boy, be proud of your own religion and be tolerant of the rest! Listen quietly to the Missionary but go on your own way, not minding what he says but following the religion prescribed by God to us, Hindus."

I cite this for the purpose of illustrating my point that Hinduism is a religion of toleration sometimes carried to excess. It has no aggressiveness about it. It has enrolled even the Apostle of Atheism - Kupaia - as one of its objects of worship. Thus Hinduism survives by yielding even where it ought not to yield and perpetuates among other evils the evil of caste and race differences.

The defect of Mahomedanism is that it errs on the other side - it is intolerant. It treats all races not brought within its fold as "infidels." That proves a hindrance to the right solution of the race problem and racial differences.

Christianity as taught by Christ is wisely tolerant. He lived and taught by

Working miracles
Not on the waves and winds but in the wills
Of men, upon the hearts of multitudes,
Healing, restoring, blessing.

But the question is whether Christianity, meaning by it the Christianity of the Churches, has been "healing, restoring, blessing." by walking in the footsteps of the Master as it should. The doctrine of "the White Man's Burden," "the Open Door," and other phrases of modern polity in Europe have intensified the problem of racial differences with the result that, as remarked by the Archbishop of York in his address at the

Church Congress held at Sheffield (England) in October, 1922, "Religion attracts but the Church repels." The Church repels because it has not kept faith with the Master as it should and has left the field of the race problem to politicians, statesmen and economists who have no vision beyond "my country and race, right or wrong."

IV. What do you conceive to be the right solution of race problems? In what senses are races equal or to be considered equal? What is your view of ^{racial} inter-marriage?

In my answer to Question No. 2 I have stated what, in my opinion, are the processes or forces to be employed for the removal of the superficial variations of the different races. To that I would here add that the right solution of race problems primarily depends on Education.

Dr. Lester F. Ward, a great American authority upon the New Science of Sociology, has said in his book "Applied Sociology," that the only solution of racial problems lies in Education. "Wars," so stated the London Times Literary Supplement, in its issue of the 16th July, 1921, "are made in class rooms before they ever come up for discussion in the Council room of the States." The last war, which has made havoc of the world and laid bare the evils of modern civilization was due (it is generally admitted) to the fact that the wells of youth had been poisoned by false notions of patriotism, and nationality taught and encouraged in the home and the school. If we are to solve the race problem, we must first solve the educational problem. The future citizens of a country must be caught young for that purpose. The education of a people does not mean education in schools and colleges only. It means the home also. Both in the home and the class room an atmosphere of wholesome patriotism and sound nationality should be created. Youth should be taught and brought up on and in the idea that patriotism and nationality are and ought to be paths leading to love of the human race - the brotherhood of the races. It is a wise saying of Bacon's: "If I might control the literature of the household I would guarantee the well-being of the Church and the State." How can peace and amity be secured among the different races when in the class rooms and homes youth are fed, so to say, on knowledge fostering false notions of love of one's own country and race hatred or jealousy or contempt of other races?

It is just three years since I had a painful experience in this matter. An Indian friend of mine, who occupies a high position as a member of the Indian Civil Service - a gentleman who has been to England and moved in English society and is

widely cultured - was staying in a Hotel with his accomplished wife - also an Indian - and their son, a boy, ten years of age. In the same Hotel resided a European lady with her son, about six years old. I used to go every morning to the Hotel to see my Indian friend and his wife. For some days I found their son and the European boy playing together on friendly terms. The Indian boy spoke English as well as any English boy and both took kindly to each other. One morning, however, when I went up to the Hotel, I heard the European boy say to the Indian boy: "I am not going to play with you. Don't come near me. Mama has asked me not to play with you, not to speak to you because you are a black man." This is how race conceit and hatred are fostered in the home.

Home life, they say, is gradually declining in Europe and America and is being replaced by club life. I do not know how far that is true. But a good home or family life is the fountain of sound national life. The right solution of the race problem must begin with sound education in the atmosphere of the home and the class room. The infinite worth of man, whatever his race, of even the downmost man, should animate that atmosphere.

The present is an industrial and economical age; and its industrial and economical arrangements have proceeded on lines which intensify the evil of class and racial differences. The right solution of the race problem will come of the Age realizes the value of the conclusions arrived at in 1920 by the Conference, held at Lambeth and composed of 256 Bishops of the Anglican Church. In the Report issued by the Conference they say that experience has shown that the doctrine that the best possible condition of society as a whole is that in which different individuals, sections, interests, or classes pursue their own self interest is absolutely false; and that nothing less than a fundamental change in the spirit and working of our economical life is necessary. And they remark: "This change can only be effected by accepting as the basis of industrial relations the principle of cooperation in service for the common good in place of unrestricted com-

petition for private profit...As God is our Father and as the Eternal Son of God took our whole human nature upon Him, every son and daughter of God is of infinite and equal value. There are wide differences in capacity but such differences do not warrant any loss of liberty or failure to give to the children of God the opportunity of a full human life."

In this alone lies the right solution of the race problem.

Now, as to the question "in what sense are races equal or are considered to be equal."

Races, like individuals who compose a race, may not be equal - in fact are not - in point of intellectual, moral or physical endowments but they are all equal in the sense that every race, like every man, is equally entitled to (1) life, (2) liberty, (3) ^{the} pursuit of happiness. These are the natural rights of every race as of every human being. That every human being is of worth goes without saying. No one in his senses, I believe, disputes that. As to liberty, every race has a right to live its own life and mould its own destiny, and to resist enslavement by another race. If we understand liberty in the only sense in which it makes man worthy - that is to say, the liberty to be a free man of God, living a life of service - a life of self-renouncing love - all races are equally fitted for it.

I think St. Paul has helped us to discern in what sense all races are equal or are considered to be equal. "Are all Apostles? Are all Prophets? Are all Teachers? Are all workers of Miracles? Have all the gifts of healing? Do all speak with tongues? Do all interpret? But covet earnestly the best gifts." All races are equal in that power to covet which alone can solve the race problem.

As to racial intermarriage, I do not agree with those who disapprove of racial intermarriages and condemn them wholesale as leading to racial degeneracy. Why should an intermarriage prove a failure if it is really a love marriage? Intermarriages have proved unhappy (within my knowledge) because they have not been love marriages. Have not

marriages between persons of the same race proved failures? I would not actively encourage a racial intermarriage. At the same time I would neither actively discourage and condemn it. The prejudice against intermarriage is rooted in racial prejudices and hatred. Remove the causes of the latter - the problem of racial intermarriage will solve itself.

- V. (a) What is the relation of Colour to the race problem?
(b) What is the relation of Race to Nationality?

As to (a):

Though colour has not been the sole determining factor of racial differences and even the different races of the same colour have prejudices against one another, leading to grave misunderstandings, sometimes ending in wars, yet colour is a more potent cause of those differences than anything else. It is in fact day by day proving the greatest hindrance to the solution of the race problem. Judging from the present, the world-struggle of the future threatens to be between the white races and the so-called coloured races.

As to (b):

Race at one time played a very important part in the formation of nationalities. As pointed out by Mr. A. F. Pollard in his book on "The Evolution of Parliament," "there are various means by which unity has been stamped upon the peoples of the world. In primitive times and backward communities it has been simply a matter of race." But conquest, commerce, and other agencies of modern civilization, which have brought the different races of the world into more or less contact and communion with one another, have tended to minimize the place of race upon nationality. Nationality - a term difficult to define precisely - has grown out of several elusive elements; but in the main it has come to be the product of a common political consciousness. In the words of Renan, "nationality grows among a people composed of different races not out of identity of speech or race but from the fact of having accomplished in the past great things in common with the desire to achieve like things in the future." Nationality, in short, represents the idea of community of State or political sovereignty; a race represents community of blood and descent.

VI. What is the cause of racial prejudice?

The proverb runs: "Blood is thicker than water." That is the root of all prejudice, racial included. To keep one's blood pure is an instinct implanted by Nature in man to conserve all that is good in him. In that respect and so far racial prejudice is a virtue because it conserves society. But we do not often see rightly what is good and what is bad and our habit becomes a second nature, so that in the case of race, differences of colour, customs, manners, and religion intensify racial prejudice. Some years ago an American lady, a Professor in one of the Women's colleges there, visited India. I met her and we had a long interview. In the course of our conversation she narrated to me an incident, which I shall describe here as a pointed illustration of how racial prejudices possess us, as it were, instinctively. The American lady met a fellow passenger on board the steamer carrying her to India. The English lady was coming out to India to join her brother, a military officer, stationed at Poona in the Bombay Presidency, and to keep home for him. The English lady told the American Professor that she felt so keenly interested in the people of India that on arrival at Poona and during her residence there and elsewhere in India, she was going to move among Indians and try to be friendly, useful, and serviceable to them. "But," remarked the American lady, "to be useful and serviceable you shall have to overcome your racial prejudice. You will find Indians different from you in point of colour, habits, customs, and manners; and that may change your mind. Are you prepared to overcome your racial prejudice?" The English lady replied; "Certainly I am prepared and I have no prejudice. I mean to rise above all prejudice." A few days after this conversation, the steamer arrived at the port of Aden. There both ladies with other passengers were watching the sight of black Negroes yelling, diving into the sea and coming up to amuse and get money out of the passengers, as their reward for all their quaint feats in the sea. The English lady, shocked at the sight of the half-naked and black Negro boys and men, said to the American lady: "How queer!" The latter asked:

"Why do you say queer? It is queer because it is a new sight to you. You may more properly call it a strange sight but to say it is queer means it is absurd, unnatural or foolish, but is it so really? Is not your racial prejudice accountable for your view of the sight? Is not your view queer, not the sight?" The English lady said to that: "It did not strike me that way." The American lady advised: "It ought to strike you that way or else your racial prejudice will thwart your resolution to be useful, friendly and sympathetic to the people of India." Racial prejudice is thus the result of differences of colour, customs and habits. The only way to get over it is to educate ourselves, so to say, in what Wordsworth finely calls "the sanctity of nature given to Man" in

"That kind
Of prepossession without which the soul
Receives no knowledge that can bring forth good,
No genuine insight ever comes to her."

VII. To what extent do the Indians admit or deny feelings either of racial superiority or racial inferiority between themselves and other races?

The bulk of India's people consists of Hindus and Mahomedans. Hindus have from ancient times regarded all other races as Klenchas (a term carrying the same meaning as the word barbarian which the ancient Greeks used of foreigners with a view to exclude them from Greek morality). But the Hindus, notwithstanding that racial prejudice, have been distinguished for their spirit of toleration, so that their feelings of racial superiority have not been of a hostile or even contemptuous character. The Mahomedans of India share the Mahomedan feeling of racial superiority - all those who are not Mahomedans are "infidels." While that is so, it is to the credit of Indians that their feelings of racial superiority have never been intense and aggressive as those of the European races. But modern politics, I am afraid, are tending to breed in Indians that intensity and aggressiveness of racial superiority.

VIII. Are you yourself aware of having any feelings of race consciousness or racial prejudices?

I am aware of having feelings of race consciousness but I am not, I believe, aware of having any feelings of racial prejudices.

I ought to make myself ^{at} clear as possible as to this answer.

By race consciousness I understand the feeling of legitimate pride one has in one's race by reason of its achievements and contribution to the service of mankind without being blind to its blemishes. Racial prejudice I take to mean the conceit one has of one's own race accompanied by contempt or hatred of or indifference to the interests of other races. Race consciousness is love of other races as love of one's own, because all are parts of one whole. Racial prejudice is loving one's own race at the expense of other races. When Pasteur, on seeing his country, France, conquered and humiliated by Germany in 1870, felt for his race, and, resolving to raise its prestige in the eyes of the whole world and so to remove that stigma of humiliation, devoted himself, heart and soul, to the cause of medical science and relief for the benefit of the whole human race, and when at last he proved one of the world's benefactors, thereby increasing the honour of his race, it was race consciousness which prompted him to his glorious task. Bismarck was an instance of racial prejudice - the man of blood and iron who, proud of his Fatherland, worked to make Germany great at the expense of other races.

The prophets of Israel had race consciousness, no race prejudice.

Above all, the finest illustration of race consciousness was given when Jesus uttered: "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killeth the prophets and stonest them that are ^{have} seat unto thee! How often would I gathered thy children together, as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings, and ye would not!"

IX. In what respects is the caste problem in India like and unlike the inter-racial problem?

Caste in India would seem to have originated in the idea of distinction by colour. That appears from the fact that in those of the ancient Hindu Scriptures in which it is mentioned it is designated by the Sanskrit word Varna, meaning "colour." But the idea of colour has in process of time disappeared altogether from the signification of caste, which has come to be determined solely by the Hindu community in which a person is born. So in respect of that signification, the caste problem and the inter-racial problem are alike. Birth is the determining factor of both. In point of prejudice against inter-dining and intermarriage, both problems are alike but with this difference that, in the case of the inter-racial problem, the prejudice is not necessarily sanctioned by law but only by the social opinion of the race concerned, whereas the prejudice sanctioned by caste had legal sanction from the state. A man who marries outside his caste - and for that purpose race is included in the term caste - lost some of his civil rights and his status, and the children by such marriage were deemed by law illegitimate. That was the original Hindu law but British enactments have softened its rigours to some extent, so that a Hindu can now marry outside his caste or race without any forfeiture of civil rights. Thus both the caste problem and the inter-racial problem have become alike in that the prejudice against inter-dining and intermarriage can be enforced only by social but not legal penalties.

While the two problems so far present common features, the caste problem is day by day becoming more easy of solution than the inter-racial problem. In the first place, caste has survived, after so many centuries of its birth, because it has gone on adapting itself quietly and without revolution or the bloodshed of civil wars to the changing conditions of time and circumstance. It has gone on conquering by yielding. The Hindu is nothing if not an adept in compromise - that is his strength in some respects; his weakness in many. Inter-dining and intermarriages are not treated with the same attitude

of hostility and excommunication and social persecution that they aroused, say, even twenty years ago. The conditions of modern civilization, the play of world forces, and the acuteness of the racial problem both in India and outside where Indians have emigrated and settled, have awakened Hindus to the weakness of their position created by caste distinctions. So caste is losing gradually its old force, whereas the inter-racial problem seems to be gathering strength. In the second place, although caste was an institution devised in its inception for the economical arrangements of society on the principle of division of labor, it has since several centuries ceased to have that economical character. It is now merely a matter of religious and social arrangement, whereas the inter-racial problem is day by day becoming more and more a political and economical problem - a struggle between the different races for political power for economical ends - for food and wealth and over-lordship of the earth.

Sidney L Gulick

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Mr. Speer

October 31, 1924

Dear Sir:

The Reverend Fred R. Bunker has prepared the following condensed survey. It is so clear and forceful that I think every member of our Commission will be glad to see it.

"In 1443 A.D. Portugal began to import slaves from Africa. In 1537 a slave market was opened in Lisbon with Papal sanction. In the early part of the 17th Century the Portuguese Government established the so-called Prazos system in its East African colonies, by which it leased out great sections of land to individual Portuguese landlords on condition that they promised to pay into the Government the combined taxes of all the natives on the land. This gave them absolute control over all the natives on their land, with power to reimburse themselves by laying unlimited taxes on their native serfs. 'They became regular feudal lords and often defied Portuguese authority.'

"This system in a modified form is still in operation.

"In 1858 Livingstone found the slave trade in its worst form flourishing in the hands of the Arabs and half-caste Portuguese in Portuguese East Africa. He wrote, 'Here on the East Coast, not a single native has been taught to read, not one branch of trade developed; and wherever Portuguese power, or intrigue, extends, we have that traffic in full force which may be said to reverse every law of Christ, and defy the vengeance of heaven.'

"Portugal declared the abolition of slavery in her colonies by a decree of 1869. In 1909 William Cadbury of England proved to the satisfaction of the cocoa manufacturers of England that slavery, in its worst form, was in operation in Portuguese West Africa, and those manufacturers boycotted the purchase of cocoa beans from that territory until slavery was abolished.

"Henry W. Nevinson traveled throughout this district and wrote of the situation as follows: 'The whole question of slavery is still before us. It has reappeared under the more pleasing names of "indentured labor", "contract labor", or "compulsory labor". The whole thing will have to be faced anew, for the solutions of our grandfathers no longer satisfy.'

"In 1920 a Commission of the British Admiralty, after investigation, made a report in regard to the situation in Portuguese East Africa, in which

the following statement was made: 'The disinclination of African people to work for Europeans without compensation is probably as pronounced in Portuguese East Africa as elsewhere. In the days of slave-holding it was possible to obtain the required labor by force. At present the form of compulsion is more subtle, but nevertheless as real.' The report then gives the details of the compulsory regulations.

"The Companhia de Mozambique, which operates in the territory referred to in the report, forces every male native, between the ages of 18 and 60 years, to work for 90 days each year without compensation for the landlord on whose land he lives. The Company is landlord of all the territory where there is no individual landlord. Failing compliance with these regulations the natives may be condemned to 'correctional labor' under police surveillance for not more than a year, during which time they will receive one-third the ordinary wage of other laborers, to be paid in kind, i.e. 'Kaffir truck'. There is, also, an elaborate system of fines for petty offenses always assessed in hard labor.

"All Government works are built by this forced labor, and the labor is sold out to private firms and landlords by the Government.

"A traveler who recently passed through this country from end to end writes, 'The 'Zhete' - forced labor laws - is taking all the young men, and many old ones, from the kraals. Chiefs with few people are desperate, and are taking old gray-haired men to fill the quota. Some districts are practically abandoned by the people, and the Portuguese are killing the goose that laid the golden eggs. We visited kraal after kraal without seeing one young man.

"The Commandante of M ----- squarely refused to try to levy 1200 men from his district, which is largely depopulated already.

"We saw scores of women and girls carrying heavy loads of sugar and salt from the coast to the interior; because there were no men to carry."

"Two groups of travelers, passing at different times over the same route in the summer of 1924, through the Mozambique territory directly under Portuguese National control, report seeing 1000 women, some in delicate condition and many with babes on their backs, forced to labor on public roads without compensation and without adequate food. Three hundred women were seen locked in a compound over the week-end to keep them from deserting.

"These incidents, it is well-known, are symptomatic of the situation in the entire territory of Portuguese East Africa. Slavery exists there under various names, but in essence as wicked and brutal as it has ever been.

"Missionary bodies cannot cope with the problem. At best they can touch but a small segment of the entire people affected. In order to remain in the country at all they are required to work with the government, and not against it. Their business is to 'pluck brands from the burning' and not to put out the conflagration. They have neither the influence nor the means to deal with the great problem of human slavery in the whole territory. They have tried and failed repeatedly to gain a permanent foothold in the territory, even for missionary work.

"The thing that must be done is for some body of international standing and influence to espouse the cause of those enslaved people; send men equipped to remain in the land long enough to get an adequate volume of evidence in legal form for diplomatic use; approach the governments which are concerned and are in a position to institute the needed reforms, and insist that such reforms be instituted; and then remain on the job until there is full assurance that the reforms instituted will be permanent."

Faithfully yours,

Sedney L. Gulick
Secretary

Alfred Williams Anthony

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MAR 6 1923

114

March 5, 1923

Mr. Speer

Dr. Robert L. Speer
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. Speer:

I just met Mr. Cogswell and in our conversation it occurred to me that you might be interested to see an outline of some statements which were prepared to present to a luncheon of the Clergy Club last week, Tuesday February 27, when the subject of Entente Cordiale between Jews and Christians was under consideration.

The twelve causes of ill will and prejudice which are here set down might be quite differantly grouped. I think the merit of them lies in the fact that, as near as I can understand race prejudices, these causes might be alleged by the parties on either side. I think a Jew would say that most of these causes were operative in the minds of Jews as things which could be alleged against Christians and I am quite sure that most Christians would say that Jews had the faults which are implied by this statement of causes.

I am sending this to you that you, with your clearer insight, may have all of the helps which a friendly mind is trying to dig out.

Sincerely yours,

Alfred Williams Anthony

Executive Secretary

AWA:EBA

Goodwill between Jews and Christians

What Can the Clergy Do.

The following facts are self-evident:-

1. No one can give that which he has not got. To promote goodwill we must possess it.
2. Promotion proceeds through speech, through conduct, and the intangible mood which we call spirit, coming into expression through a gesture, an attitude, a smile, or the glint of an eye.
3. Goodwill is the inner meaning of all real religion.
4. As we know God goodwill is His essence. He wills goodwill among men.

Among the causes of ill-will and prejudice may be named as chief the following:

1. Sheer misunderstandings
2. Differences in habits and customs
3. Economic competition
4. Jealousy of success
5. Fear of losing leadership
6. Personal aggressiveness
7. Bad manners
8. Pride of intellect
9. Gregariousness and its accompanying provincialism.
10. Dogmatic moods and utterances
11. The air of superiority
12. Selfishness

None of these are worthy of any of us or any of our people.

To be definite and concrete, it is against these that we must strive.

That we may follow just a few specific courses for the present, we recommend:-

1. That the Clergy Club consider this subject again at a luncheon or other public gathering not later than next fall.
2. That we all make it a subject of thought and prayer and conversation.

3. That we take pains to meet each other and know each other better

4. That we attend each others' service and make exchanges as far as may be appropriate and feasible.

5. That we bring the subject to the attention of our people, if not in distinct discourses, at least by reference and allusion in address and prayer.

6. We will undertake to cultivate our own minds and hearts in thoughts and habits of goodwill.

Sidney L. Gulick
NATIONAL COMMITTEE

ON

AMERICAN JAPANESE RELATIONS

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Dr. Robert E. Speer,
New York City.

My dear Dr. Speer:

An unusually interesting letter has just come from Japan. It seems that the action of our Committee opposing the paragraph of the House Immigration Bill which was aimed at Japan was cabled to Japan and was widely noted in the press with favorable comment.

That action of ours helps them to realize that there are influential forces here working for fair play and a square deal.

Our Committee was represented at the Hearings of the Senate Immigration Committee on March 11 - 14, when the Anti-Japanese phases of the House Immigration Bill were taken up. Messrs. McClatchy, Webb and Phelan came from California for the avowed purpose of combatting the work of this Committee and of the Federal Council's Commission on International Justice and Goodwill.

Their testimony was prolix and largely irrelevant. It was the same old story, exhibiting ill-will and race prejudice bolstered up by many misstatements. Their main effort was to prove that the Gentlemen's Agreement had been continuously violated, that Japanese were pouring into the country and especially into California, and that the Japanese are absolutely unassimilable and are, therefore, a menace.

Important appeals for fair play were made by two missionaries, Drs. Schneder and Bowles, in addition to the appeals by the Secretary of the Foreign Missions Conference, Mr. F. P. Turner, and by your secretary, who also represented the Federal Council's Commission. Important telegrams from various centers on the Pacific Coast, opposing the anti-Japanese features of the House bill, were received by the Senate Committee.

The continued and determined character of the Anti-Japanese propaganda makes it clear that fresh and attractive printed material should be prepared at once and widely circulated.

April 1, 1924.

May we have your financial as well as your moral support in this highly important campaign of education for right relations between America and Japan?

This Committee needs \$5000 for its work for the current year.

Very sincerely yours,

Sidney L. Gulick
Chairman

M. L. Harbaugh

RECEIVED

MAR 27 1924

SACRAMENTO CHURCH FEDERATION
"United Protestantism In Action"

Sacramento, Calif., March 26, 1924.

Mr. Speer

Dr. Robt. E. Speer,
156 5th Ave.,
New York City.

5

Dear Fellow Worker in Christ:

Success was permitted us in the matter of the Disarmament Conference, when it seemed this forward move in the abolition of war was about to fail. This made clear our duty to remind Congress that Protestant public opinion, though slow to express itself, was, after all, still the dominant element in this nation, founded by those Protestants, willing to brave the rigors of an unknown land, that they might freely worship God.

It is from this element we draw those who, in foreign fields, are engaged in the Extension of the Kingdom. In taking over a missionary unit when the Inter-Church movement collapsed, this Federation made contact with several thousand mission stations. The names of these missionaries indicate IN ABOUT 97% OF THE CASES THEY ARE OF NORDIC OR NORTH-EUROPEAN ORIGIN. The Nordic blood of America, the source of missionary manpower, has, since 1895, been diluted because of Alpine-Mediterranean immigration.

THIS FEDERATION, for ten years, has been making a survey of this problem. It sent its representatives to Europe to study it first hand. It feels that, because the Nordic birth rate is low, (see table below), Protestantism is threatened with eventual extinction if the 1890 Census Clause of the Johnson Immigration Bill is not enacted into the law. ON THIS NORDIC STRAIN DEPENDS WORLD EVANGELIZATION.

Because it believes it is our generation's duty to "carry on" herein, it begs you and your co-workers to appeal to Congress as we have in enclosed resolutions.

How hard would you fight if you believed Protestantism was at stake? How hard would you struggle if you thought, what you did NOW might save America, the great stronghold of Protestantism from being plunged into conditions like those of the night of St. Bartholomew's massacre, of those days when William the Silent struggled in Holland against Phillip the III, and the Spanish Inquisition?

Sacramento Church Federation,

M. L. Harbaugh
Executive Secretary.

Approximate Children	1st generation	2nd	3rd	4th	5th
Nordic	3	9	27	81	243
Mediterranean	7	49	343	2,401	16,807

M H

J. Edgar Briggs

OFFICE OF
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158 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

April 15th, 1924

Dr. Robert E. Speer,
156 Fifth Ave.,
New York City.

Dear Dr. Speer:-

I have your note with regard to the new book, RACE AND RACE RELATIONS. We shall be glad to have at least some preliminary matter - say Preface, Contents and portion of the opening chapter - as early in May as is possible; this for the purpose of preparing proofs for our salesmen. We should hope it would be possible to have the manuscript in reasonably complete shape in June, for I understand it is your wish to have the book itself ready as early in September as possible. If you are unable to even approximate these dates, we will of course fall in with any plans that will suit your convenience.

I have tried to reach you by phone in this connection, but find that you are not in your office and are to be out of town this week-end.

A copy of the M. E. M. book, OF ONE BLOOD, has just been secured. This makes a very handsome appearance and undoubtedly will have a very large sale.

Sincerely,

J. Edgar Briggs

B

THE BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS
OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U. S. A.

156 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

OFFICE OF SECRETARY

Dictated 4/10/24

April 12, 1924

The Rev. S. G. Inman,
25 Madison Ave.,
New York City.

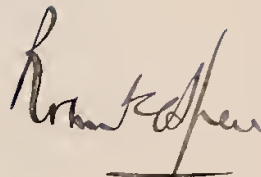
My dear Guy:

I enclose herewith Dr. Chamberlain's reply to my letter to you with regard to the attendance of Mr. Turner and Dr. Sanders at the Montevideo Congress.

In the Bulletin of the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America for January 7th, 1924, there was an interesting review of Priestley's "The Mexican Nation." This review contained a quotation from the book. Can you tell me on what page the last two paragraphs of that quotation are found?

Ever affectionately yours,

RES-KC



Mr. Speer:

Pages XVII & XVIII of the Introduction
containing the quotations referred to
Guy

RACE AND RACE RELATIONSHIPS -- Speer

I. The Origin and Nature of Race -----	42 pages
II. The Idea of Race Superiority -----	46 pages
III. The Good and Gain of Race and Race Distinction-----	50 pages
IV. The Evils and Abuses of Race-----	53 pages
V. Relation of Race to Color, Climate, Nationality, Language, Sex, and Religion-----	50 pages
VI. The Solution of the Race Problem-----	54 pages
VII. Some Specific Race Problems of To-Day-----	<u>65 pages.</u>
	360 pages

360 pages to manuscript

380 words to a page.

360 p.
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Feb 25
24.

Franklin D. Cogswell.

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Dr. Robert E. Speer
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City

My dear Dr. Speer:-

I send herewith two sets of the revised galley proof for OF ONE BLOOD, proof for the title-page, and proof of the preface. I judge that you will want to make a somewhat more definite statement in your preface now regarding the publishing arrangement for the full book. In addition there will be, of course, the definite recommendation of the book in the list of materials suggested for a small reference library.

I enclose a memorandum listing several of the points that have been pending and one or two new points that were contained in suggestions received from several members of our committee who had been reading the galley proofs.

I have written Professor Conklin and have sent him the proofs, asking if possible that he will let us hear in ten days.

I quite agree that it will be best to take this extra time now to make such adjustments in the text as you feel to be necessary. We have definitely decided to postpone the publication until the middle of March.

Yours sincerely,

Franklin D. Cogswell

FDC
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Franklin D. Cogswell

RECEIVED

FEB 8 1924

February 4, 1924

Mr. Speer

Memorandum to Dr. Speer.

I list herewith several points that have come up in connection with our own further study of the proofs and late comments that have come from several of the Committee:

Galley 8, Bottom.

In regard to your question on the treatment of race or the race problem in various encyclopedias. We have looked this matter up with the following results:

Encyclopedia Americana

Under heading "Races, Origins of" there is an article of about 3 1/2 pages which is non-scientific in character and can scarcely be called a treatment of the race problem as we understand that phrase today.

Appleton's New Practical Cyclopedia

Here, as in Britannica, the reference is simply "Race: see Ethnology."

Chamber's Encyclopedia

Under the heading, "Race" the reader is referred to "Breed, Species, Ethnology."

International Encyclopedia

The reference is "Races of Mankind, See Man, Science of; Living Races."

Nelson's Encyclopedia

"Race: See Ethnology; Species."

Some of the articles on Ethnology do present some of the fundamental points regarding race differences, and perhaps your phrase in the sentence immediately preceding the quotation at the bottom of Galley 8, "What little there is on the subject" might be qualified. However, it seems to us that what you have said is substantially correct, for these articles do not deal in any thorough way at all with the question on race relationships nor the race problem in the sense in which you are studying it in this book.

I am wondering if you do not need to modify slightly the second sentence in this same paragraph, "Indeed the race problem as we know it in America today is a very modern problem, and it is very American." Can we say that it is very American when it seems to be present in so many of the aspects that we have it here in South Africa, Egypt, India, Australia, and elsewhere. Indeed I think one of the strongest features of your book is the way in which you have shown the world character of this problem and have led us into a study of our specifically American problem against this world background.

Galley 14 - 15.

Is there a sufficient distinction between point (2) which begins at the bottom of Galley 14 and point (5) in the middle of Galley 15 to warrant the division of the material under these two headings? Might it not be well to consider the possibility of combining these sections.

Galley 39.

The last sentence on this galley beginning, "How can he know etc." is long and rather involved. The point made in the sentence is a very important one. To make sure that the significance is not missed, might it not be better to break it up into two sentences.

Galley 40.

Is Point (3) under the heading "Race and Social Ideals" sufficiently differentiated from Point (1) to make necessary the two paragraphs with different numbers on them.

Galley 59.

Last full paragraph on the Galley. The figures giving the number of Russians and Italians as 529,240 and 545,173 respectively are, of course, accurate according to some classifications. They are not the figures used, however, in the recent home mission studies which have tended to become standard in home mission literature. The discrepancy in the case of the Russians arises from the fact that in the new studies Russian Jews are not counted, and the number of Russians who are not Jews is very much less than the figure given. The figures for the Italians as it stands here are probably the number who are actually foreign born, whereas our ~~number~~ as it is generally understood, really represents a much larger population than this when the children

Italian problem,

Dr. Speer - 3

born here of Italian parents are included. It would be difficult to qualify these statements in the form in which you have them in the sentences as it now stands. Consequently, would it not be better to let the classes look these things up for themselves from the sources given in the back of the book and not attempt to include these figures here at all?

Franklin D. Cogswell

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February 18, 1924

Dr. Robert E. Speer
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City

My dear Dr. Speer:-

I send herewith the original of Dr. Conklin's letter which came in Friday night. We inquired from your office Saturday morning to find whether or not you would be there to receive it if sent over, but on discovering that you were away, decided to hold it here. I had hoped the set of proofs marked by Professor Conklin would have arrived by this time, but they have not. I shall send them over immediately when they come.

If you will let me know when you are ready to return the proofs, I shall be glad to come over for a few minutes and take note of any special points or directions that you may have. This may save you writing a letter.

Yours sincerely,

FDC
c

Franklin D. Cogswell

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY

FEB 1 1924

DEPARTMENT OF BIOLOGY

February 14, 1924

Mr. Franklin D. Cogswell,
Educational Secretary,
Missionary Education Movement,
150 Fifth Ave.,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Cogswell:

I have just finished reading the proof of Dr. Speer's volume on Race Problems. With the object which he has in view I am in hearty accord. We need to appreciate the good qualities of the different races and to realize that our own race does not have a monopoly of all good traits, and I think that the solution of race problems is, as Dr. Speer suggests, the application of the principles of Christianity to our dealings with all peoples.

On the other hand I am somewhat puzzled by what seems to me to be conflicting tendencies in different parts of the volume. In the first few pages he seems to deny the reality of race distinctions, on what are certainly unscientific and unsatisfactory grounds, namely that exceptions can be found to almost every definition; and yet throughout the major part of the book he recognizes race distinctions. I find also that he is inclined to underestimate the importance of heredity in determining race characteristics, and correspondingly to overemphasize the influence of environment and education. Biologically speaking, nothing is racial that is not inherited; and yet inheritance marks out only the possibilities or capacities of development, and the actual realization of these possibilities is contingent upon environment and education.

I have in various places indicated on the margin of the proof my comments, and I need not enter into details here.

I should be glad to receive a copy of the volume when it is issued.

Very truly yours,

E. G. Bonkum

George E. Haynes

RECEIVED

February 11, 1924.

Mr. Dr. Robert E. Speer,
156 Fifth Avenue
New York City.

Dear Dr. Speer:

I have completed the first five chapters of proof before leaving for the West and am venturing to dictate comment, send it on at once in the hope of following it with the remainder.

First, let me repeat in writing what I said to you over telephone, that I am delighted with your whole approach and treatment, as well as your point of view indicated by the title and the broad way you have treated it. Let me say also that the statements below are presented subject to correction on further consideration.

Chapter 1, Section 1 on The Origin of Race:

I seriously question whether it would be well to give this title to this section or to attempt any explanation of the origin of race because it is such a mooted question among anthropologists. The statements of your ^{point of view} ~~thesis~~ in this section seems to me would come either in a foreword or near the end of the chapter because then you have ^{laid} ~~laid~~ a foundation in presentation of facts.

In Section 2 it seems that your position would be strengthened if you brought in some other authority on your side besides Dr. Myers, particularly as you have quoted Conklin, McDougal, Stoddard and others on the side of heredity. That is to say, the best way to meet the Stoddard point of view and the authority associated on that side is with ^{Several} other scientists of unquestioned authoritative standing. The last quotation in Section 2 taken from Stoddard, I believe, strikes me that the real fallacy in his reasoning here is drawing conclusion about whole nations and races mainly upon the few facts ~~in discovery~~ about individual psychology. Could you by a ~~sentence~~ or two bring that out in Section 3?
2 or
^

Have you considered the probability of having Section 4 as Section 1? The question ^{involves a} ~~change of~~ ^{first} the title of the ~~section~~ and strikes me as the natural point of interest in approaching the subject.

In section 4 galley 4 you use "biological vagaries" in quoting one or two rather well-respected authorities. Might not a milder word carry the same meaning?

In section 9, describing the origin of race consciousness, galley 8 near the bottom, the sentence beginning "Indeed the race problem", occurs to me might be a place for making an additional section #10, with some such title as "Rise for Modern Race Problems". ~~That~~ That seems to be the discussion from there on. Your quotation from Alfred Stone at the end of that section draws in a rather questionable query of social pressure, and I raise the question whether it strengthens the argument.

Chapter 2.

It might be well to consider whether Chapter 5 and its facts would not more logically precede Chapter 2 so as to give the reader full background of information about race and the subjects treated in Chapter 5 before taking up the idea of race superiority and inferiority. ~~Should~~ Should not the ideas of the white race be included in Section 1 or 2 along with the ideas of other races?

Section 2, galley 13. Could not some of the quotations here be shortened with good effect?

Section 3. Could you bring out a little more clearly the distinction between inferiority of circumstance and the question of ~~interest~~ and inherent capacity.

Galley 15, paragraph 15, you speak of a "right" ethnological view, meaning ~~view~~ sound or correct from the scientific standpoint rather than right from an ethical standpoint. There are several places where the distinction between the ethical argument, the scientific argument and the historic argument might be a little more differentiated.

I have found in some places it might be well ^{further} to clearly distinguish biological, ethnological, psychological and sociological ^{arguments}. Also, here and there I have sometimes had to re-read a passage to be sure of the meaning you had in the term -race- in the particular connection in which it is ^{there} used. I realize that it is a very confusing term anyway and that possibly that difficulty is *inevitable* in the treatment of the subject.

Galley 32; you speak of the "certain truth", if the South had won the civil war, etc. This is a scientific prophesy and it might be well to modify the sentence because of that. Should not galley 34 section 7 come before section 6?

Yours sincerely
George B. Hayes.

Dear Dr. Meier:

These notes were dictated to a stenographer who missed some words in transcribing and it will delay this should I try to get it recopied here in Chicago. I hope to send you remainder of Comment in a day or two. Please overlook rough copy.

Yours
G B H Chicago
Feb. 13, 1924

129 EAST 52nd STREET
NEW YORK CITY
Tel: Plaza 4700

E. C. Carter, Esq.,
This Office,

Dear Mr. Carter:

A number of small textual corrections or suggestions will be found on the galley proofs. The following typed pages contain comment of the proofs as written down in the course of reading, not after having read the book as a whole.

Since naturally this comment is largely critical, it may give an impression of lack of appreciation for the book as a whole or for the detailed discussion of which it is made up. Therefore it may be well to state here that, with the exception of a few passages to which I personally take strong objection - because of their slant and likelihood to mislead the reader more often than because of actual misstatement - , I consider the book well constructed, covering the ground most comprehensively, and full of wise statement of the problems under discussion and the way out of them. The quotations in nearly all cases are exceedingly well chosen to illustrate the points made. Some of them, together with some of the author's original thoughts, constitute almost an encyclopedia of right thinking on these problems. But, as my own sometimes perhaps too lengthy or too insistent - comments will show, the book has the great value, the supreme value, considering its particular purpose, of stimulating the thought and imagination of the reader. It has just the right mixture of theoretical discussion and concrete statement of fact which avoids the danger of the over-academic and that of the boringly matter-of-fact.

(Signed) BRUNO LASKER.

Comments on "Of One Blood".
Bruno Lasker.

The following notes are written while reading the m/s. Hence, some of the points raised may be answered in later portions of the m/s.

Galley one (a) If this par. is meant to say what I read into it, it contains a very important, suggestive thought worth further

Galley 15 (b) An admirable paragraph, worth further pointing up. The words inferior and superior are used in common parlance without any relation to a common standard of measurement, hence meaningless. It is only as we adopt a criterion of standards, such as Christianity, that we can with any assurance tell which race or nation is further or less far removed from it.

(c) Will it not be said in criticism of this paragraph that no individual or thousands of individuals can, in the qualities named or any other qualities, transcend the biologically determined potentialities of their race? The real truth is, of course, that, measured by a common standard, the potentialities of all the races overlap. Biological superiority of one race over another cannot mean that all individuals composing the one are superior to all the individuals composing the other; it means that some individuals of the superior race are capable of reaching a higher development than any individuals of the inferior one. That margin, most biologists and anthropologists now admit, is an exceedingly small one; but since it contains the material for potential if not actual leadership, it is important.

Galley 19 (c) Of course, in an ideal society all individuals must be alike, and in an ideal humanity all races must be alike, that is perfect. The point here is rather that in an imperfect world variety in attainments is a good thing, because variety playing upon variety, ensures evolution towards the perfect type. To ensure a new and better product, the botanist or agriculturist must mate different varieties. To ensure a superior human type, humanity must bring its varied racial stocks with their varied achievements into mutually fertilizing contact (but not necessarily on the physical plane through intermarriage).

(d) This statement, unless further qualified, must seem strange to the thoughtful student of history. It is generally assumed that western civilization is superior to others precisely because in the course of centuries economic security has been increased, there has been less of a struggle for survival, and consequently much energy has been freed for religious and cultural progress, including among other things, the service rendered in relieving suffering and bringing light to the ignorant the world over. On a spiritual level, there may be some truth in the statement made in the text. Just as the individual often grows spiritually richer through suffering, so some races that have had more than an average struggle for survival may have, and in some instances certainly have, enriched their spiritual experience, their conception of ultimate aims in life. Therefore, if this statement is to stand, I would suggest putting it in a more tentative form.

And may I, at this point, make the general suggestion that some of the excellent and sometimes original thoughts expressed in this book would have added educational value if they were put less in the form of didactic statements and more in the form of tentative suggestions or questions put up to the reader for his own consideration and study.

Galley 20 (a) This paragraph is particularly forceful and needed at the present time. I wonder whether a still more pointed application to present-day problems could not be made. America's going back on its enthusiastic endorsement of the principle of race autonomy during the war; present examples especially of American and British foreign policies that are contrary to that spirit and carry with them the danger of imperialism. Or would that make the paragraph too controversial politically?

(b) Can autonomy ever be worked out by a stronger race for a weaker, as here suggested? In other passages it is correctly stated that each race must work out its own autonomy. But the intention here probably is one not clearly expressed: namely that progress from serfdom to self-determination in nations and races as well as in individuals involves an educational process in which others may take part both as fellow-learners and as teachers.

(c) "Races rise to their own place not by making claims or bemoaning errors but by achieving work and by rendering service." To forestall criticism, it might be well here to interpolate a sentence to the effect that often obstructions deliberately put into the way of such achievement by a dominant race, obstructions which appear to make such effort, hopelessly difficult, can, as a fact subject to historical proof, always be overcome by real determination and perseverance.

Galley 20 (d) "And He made races that He might save us with a yet greater salvation." Frankly I do not understand this theological interpolation, and I fear many readers will not understand it either or, if they take it at its face value, find fault with it. Could this thought perhaps be repeated in less theological language, so as to make its meaning clear? Does it mean that true ideas arise from variety of experience? (As for instance, it took the experience of seafaring to teach humanity that the earth is round.) Each race by its experience contributes to the sum total of human knowledge - not only as regards the material aspects of life but also as regards recognition of the meaning of life and of man's relation to the universe.

Galley 21 (a) The "manly race spirit" of Booker Washington was not, of course, strictly speaking a race spirit at all, especially as he personally was not a full-blooded Negro. But the elements of race and class are so interwoven, in speaking of the American Negro, that it is difficult to find a correct term for it.

(b) It is not clear, after the discussion that has gone before, how or why the spirit of racial revolt and self-assertion can ever be "excessive". Either it is justified or it is not. Probably it would be correct to say that the forms taken by racial revolt and self-assertion are often erroneous and destructive. In that sense, the implied criticism of the Nationalist movement in India has some force, though I frankly do not consider it justified, especially when applied to Ghandi who has always sought non-violent forms for this self-assertion.

Galley 22 (a) "The whole world will be better for the peaceful effort of men to find a better balance between the forces of rest and the forces of change than we have thus far achieved." This sounds dangerously like advocacy of a compromise between good and evil. Of course, what is meant here is that the peaceful effort of men who recognize the value of time in the mutual adjustment of races may often be more effective than the effort of men who try to bring about that adjustment by violent means.

(b) I find here and also in other places (see more especially my comment on galley 32) a rather unfortunate tendency of trying to get an optimistic interpretation of conditions which are manifestly evil. The effects of the war here named have certainly not been offset ("partly offset" would be better but still far from the truth) "in its effects upon the increase of the intimacy of race relations etc." One need only think of the decrease in international exchange, the new barriers erected against foreign trade and migration, the break-up of the Austrial empire, non-intercourse with Russia, the destruction of all sorts of voluntary international associations that existed before the war, the continuing of mutual prejudices aroused by war-time propaganda, to see the inaccuracy of this statement.

Galley 23 (a) The sentence "The world is made up of many races because economically the existence of many races is a gain to all," does not necessarily arise from what has gone before, and thus barely stated is of doubtful logic or truth. The origin, growth, decadence or survival of racial groups, by previous showing, is in constant flux. The particular racial make-up of humanity at the present time is neither final nor necessarily the economically most advantageous to be imagined now or at any other period of the world's history.

Some sections of the earth are inhabited by races demonstrably less fit to make the best of their natural resources for the benefit of all humanity than other races would be. It is not even clear whether the survival of all existing racial groups is of value to the further development of humanity (or that other races which have died out may not have been more valuable at this time). Here, by a plain assertion of a theory which will by no means be acceptable to all, the most difficult of all race questions is prejudged instead of being opened up for further discussion: Are all races, economically, or in any other way, of equal value to humanity?

Galley 26 (a) "It is only by their acceptance of Christianity that other races can give us their help." This statement seems to me in contradiction with other statements made in the course of this book. Can we learn nothing from the Chinese or the Hindus with their vast stores of cultural inheritances except in so far as they embrace our own inheritance and give it back to us molded by their experience? Do we mean that neither the Old Testament nor the Vedanta nor Greek philosophy nor the teachings of Buddha, Zoroaster or Confucius are of any use to us? Obviously, something rather different is here meant but not expressed with sufficient clarity.

Galley 28 (a) We are probably too near the events of the late war to see them in their true historical perspective. What about the hate propagandas of Moslems at various periods? What about the Roman hate propaganda which wiped out one of the greatest cities and civilizations of antiquity, Carthage? What about the hate propagandas of the Thirty Years' War? And what, since this question is raised, of the hate propaganda against the "Hun" in the allied countries, the hate propaganda against Russia carried on by our State Department, and the hate propaganda against Jews carried on by Henry Ford? What about the hate propaganda against the Turks of the American Protestant churches?

Galley 17 (a) No one will take exception to the sentiment expressed under (3). But it does not go far enough. Service may be the by-product of a genuine effort at self-perfection - in the case of races as of individuals - which includes ethical as well as intellectual or other qualities.

Galley 29 (a) Is not this quotation in contradiction of an earlier statement (I forget on which galley) to the effect that the Greeks and Hebrews had no distinct conception of race?

Galley 30 (bottom) "the emphatic conviction of the Education Commission that the gains that have come to Africa through the white man are far greater than the losses." To what extent can we look upon Jesse Jones and his party of travellers as competent judges on such a question as this? The statement quoted is in sharp contrast with the ripe judgment of liberally minded administrators, teachers, missionaries and others who have spent years in Africa. Of course, Dr. Jones saw most of the missions and of the the people who have had the benefit of their services; he can hardly have had an opportunity to investigate native conditions in the mining districts, or the industrial and agricultural exploitation that is still taking place, or

the contemptuous treatment of natives in the cities. Nor does the judgment expressed seem to have been based on a historical retrospect of what the white man has done to the Africans. I suggest that at least a sentence stating that the highly optimistic conclusion of this report is not shared by other equally competent students and observers would be in place.

Galley 32 (a) The conditions here described are not past history but present fact. Apparently some statements of Du Bois have been over-condensed here. I have tried to clarify the sense, as it seems to me it may have been meant.

(b) You say, "the idea of a continuous acceptance by any race of its own enslavement is illusory." This is an interesting speculation. I am not so sure. I would not offhand subscribe to it. Within modern memory even Christian people have sold themselves into slavery. Whole populations willingly enter contract labor if thus their livelihood is ensured. The desire to live is stronger than the desire to be free. This voluntary subjection of a race to another for the sake of bread and protection can go on indefinitely until the desire for freedom becomes a forgotten ambition. Intolerable labor conditions have been borne by Africans generation after generation when they could have revolted and freed themselves of the foreign yoke. Biologically there is no reason for looking upon the desire for freedom as a hereditary trait. The wild horse becomes tamed, and its progeny returns voluntarily to the stable when set free.

(c) This is one of the passages referred to earlier. I cannot conceive how an institution can be a curse and a blessing at the same time to the same people. In this particular instance, the argument is particularly faulty. Could not the Negroes, both in America and in Africa, have been Christianized without slavery? Has slavery helped to spread essential Christianity? Has it made the master class more Christian? And how, in view of the continuing race antipathy which is so largely due to the fact that the one race has been enslaved to the other, can the experience of slavery be held to have brought "the possibility of a greater race sympathy"?

Galley 33 (a) "The white race would not have thought of dealing with such faithlessness and cruelty with an equal race." I am not at all sure that this is a correct statement. Read of the dispossession of the Scotch crofters, of the earlier dealings of the British with the Irish peasantry, of the condition of Sicily and southern Italy at the beginning of the nineteenth century, of Prussia's ruthless expropriation of the peasants in her Polish provinces.

Galley 37 (a) The Tuskegee case if told at all deserves a little more explanation than here given. It looks as though the author sympathized with the attitude of the white people in this case and condemned that of the colored. The cause of the conflict was, of course, purely economic. The white people of Tuskegee wanted a white staff for this hospital because that meant more trade for Main Street, the possibility of advancing the development of the town. The colored people wanted the jobs because of the extreme scarcity of opportunities for colored professional men.

Galley 37 (b) I do not think that this section does full justice to the subject of antipathy on account of color. Many whites, especially women, when for the first time brought into close contact with colored people actually have a sense of uncleanliness. This comes about through the association of the idea of darkness of skin and dirt which is inculcated in childhood. For instance, many people will not enter a swimming pool used by colored people. Of course, the idea that these pollute the water is nonsense, but the feeling remains and is quite a genuine thing.

Galley 40 (a) I do not consider the quotation from Reinsch so very convincing and would not so completely endorse it as the author has done, but rather intimate in the concluding sentence of the section that this conception of nationality is in some ways misleading.

that, "while some of these conceptions are so old that we hardly know the sources of their origin, they were not brought into a complete and convincing system before the advent of Christianity. Hence, they derive"

Galley 55 (a) "Indeed, the Christian forces are the only forces which are really grappling with the issue." No unbiased student of race relations in the South will deny this statement. But the question arises, why has not a solution been sought long ago? Both white and colored Southerners have always been devout Christians. Is not the answer that a right way was found as soon as the churches, under the inspiration of some of their great leaders toward the end of the nineteenth century, lost their too exclusive concern for individual salvation and took up in earnest the application of Christian principles to the great social issues of the time?

Galley 59 (a) This analysis of the problem of social equality and the impossibility of bringing it about by mandamus is absolutely correct and very wisely stated. But can we not go one step further: If social recognition, to be real, must be freely felt and accorded, then at any rate let us have freedom: Without coercing social recognition, let us also remove from the statute books and ordinance all laws and regulations that coerce people into a position of social aloofness and non-recognition which they do not feel.

Galley 62 (a) I believe this account of present white-Indian relations is too optimistic. Land thefts on a huge scale are still going on. Health provisions are extremely faulty, and only quite recently we have had accounts of appalling prevalence of trachoma and other diseases, quite insufficient health services. The chief grievance of the Indians, which certainly should be mentioned, is that he is deprived of a share in the services of all departments of government by being subjected to the guardianship on only one bureau which is quite inadequately equipped to meet his economic, educational, agricultural and health needs.

Galley 63 (a) This is not clear. How has becoming Christians helped the Japanese in America to overcome prejudice against them? It seems to have made hardly any difference.

Galley 64 (a) This is all very true. But could not some more concrete and specific ways be indicated by which a better feeling between North Americans and Latin Americans might be brought about?

(b) This is the true statement and in contradiction with the statement criticized above that on the whole contact with the white civilization has been to the benefit of the African natives.

'b) Is not this an over-statement? Better: "not only of these inherited tendencies but also of..."

Galley 5 (a) Not clear. As it stands, the sentence seems to impl: something that is not true. What is meant, ~~probably, is that,~~ though biologically the larger number of Jews may belong to the Caucasian ~~(should this be Caucasian?)~~ group, the difference in the mental equipment of this ^{Jewish} ethnic group as a whole from, say, the Anglo-Saxon is greater than [^]the difference in the mental equipment of racially more distantly related but socially more similar groups of any two nationalities, as for instance native American and Chinese students in American universities.

(b) The statement should be somewhat modified; otherwise the author may be accused of introducing here a new gauge for measuring racial superiority and inferiority which is not necessarily the Christian gauge.

(c) Of course, the process of sex adjustment still continues and no one can tell exactly what will be its outcome. What is said here is strictly true only of modern history. In antiquity social progress has been a gradual getting away from the maternalistic to the paternalistic conception of society, leading in due course to the subjection of women.

Galley 43 (a) Is not the point here that there may be particular periods in the history of a race or nation when it may be most susceptible to new revelations of truth? Of course, the truth is always there at all times; but that is not the matter under discussion, rather the psychological predisposition to receive it - as illustrated in the remarks about Rome.

Galley 48 (a) Conklin ought not to be allowed to get by with that old wheeze! When we get a perfected human race, there will be no need for coal diggers and the like; industry and agriculture alike will have become arts instead of drudgery.

Galley 54 (a) This sentence may have rather an unfortunate effect if it were understood to mean that the author is not so much interested in democracy and race harmony in themselves as in their use for the purely temporary need of overcoming Mahomedanism. The insertion of the word "Incidentally, the advance..." or "At the same time" at the beginning of the sentence would prevent such misunderstanding.

(b) This statement can hardly be upheld as strictly accurate. Some of the conceptions which have emerged are much older than Christianity. Probably what this sentence was meant to say was

Galley 19 (a) So far as my reading of the Prophets goes, I would hardly say that they went quite so far as here alleged - especially as regards respect for other peoples' mothers.

By the way, can it safely be assumed that the student will be familiar with or will look up all the biblical references in the text, or should some of the most important ones be quoted?

(b) "Each race has a work to do ... which no other race can do" may be an idea that is alright in this context. But it is a statement with dangerous connotations: in the first place, it may be held to stand opposed to race-cooperation; it may also be held to uphold the imperialist conception of "manifest destiny" which has done so much harm in the world. And, anyhow, no race can work towards its perfection except in the assumption that there is no task in the world which at one time or other it may not be called upon to perform. Unlike an individual who may decide to remain a cobbler, a race cannot "let George do it".

✓ (b) This example is badly chosen. The English and the Scotch-Irish are not of "one intimate race"; on the contrary, while speaking a different language, the Scotch and Irish have been drawn to the French because they are largely of the same Celtic blood with the same though somewhat distant cultural inheritance. As for clashes with the Chinese, it is obvious that a people will not have clashes with another so distant that practically there are no relations between them at all, but with a neighboring people, especially when the land areas occupied by them are limited and they are driven to fight for the same natural resources.

✓ Galley 15, (a) I do not think this definition altogether tenable. For instance, many students consider the Chinese more educated and more happy than many white peoples. Yet there are not a few westerners who look upon the Chinese as backward, merely because they have not adopted western standards. The sentence would be correct if it said "...simply a race which is considered by another race which arrogates to itself superiority over it to be lacking in these qualities that would..."

D. J. Fleming

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
BROADWAY AT 120TH STREET
NEW YORK

24 January 1924.

*Material the report sent p 20
in the report 75.6 to report on
condition here & Howard's
report 69.7.7. 7. 7. 7.
2. 100. 100. 100.*

Dr. Robert E. Speer,
Board of Foreign Missions,
156 Fifth Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Speer:

I was out in Ohio over the weekend and then again out of the City until this morning, so that I did not receive your galley proofs until this late day. I feel that already the galley proofs must have been sent on to the press.

I have, since arrival this morning, been only able to skim through the proof and read rather closely the first two chapters. It seems to me the positions you have taken are very sound indeed, and I am delighted that a book like this is going to be available not only for the Churches but for the students of the land.

The World Education Committee of the Y.M.C.A. has been awaiting this book, and I feel certain will push it among the students.

In what I have looked over I do not find any mistake in statement of fact, or expression of judgment. I did not notice any reference to the psychological tests made by our Army during the war. Would you care to look up the National Academy of Science Memoirs, volume 15, pages 705-742. There is a copy in the Columbia University library and a copy in the Union Theological Seminary Library. This is the report of the Surgeon General of our Army on the psychological tests made, and this chapter deals with the relative racial capacity of the negro and the white American.

In general these tests show the negro inferior, but personally I feel that quite a series of criticisms could be made concerning the character of the tests, and the validity of the judgments derived from them.

Page 2 - Dr. Robert E. Speer.

My only point in suggesting this data is that it is one of the most recent attempts to get at this question of relative racial capacity from what purports to be a scientific standpoint.

We are all indebted to you for the immense amount of work that you have put on this volume. May God richly bless it to the bettering of racial relationships everywhere.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "L. J. Flannery". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of the word "Sincerely,".

DJR/MH.

Wm Adams Brown

RECEIVED

UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

BROADWAY AT 120TH STREET
NEW YORK

FEB 6 1924

Mr. Speer

February 4, 1924.

Rev. Robert Speer, D.D.,
Board of Foreign Missions,
156 5th Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Robert:

I have been going through the galleys of your book in odds and ends of time and on Friday turned my copy over to Lasker only to find that he had already been through it and sent you his comments. You must be gratified to find how cordially he approves of the work that you have done.

My own feeling has been that the force of the argument was at some points weakened by the large number of points which you make and the copious use of illustration which sometimes diverts attention from the main current of the argument. But it may well be that for the purpose of a study book this method is essential, and in any event, that is not a question profitable to raise when one is in the stage of page proof.

I have noted a few points which are unimportant in the text. My own understanding of Hardy's Philosophy is a different one from that you seem to hold on galley one. I had always thought of him as the classical example of a deterministic philosophy which has no place for freedom.

On page 25 (c) it seemed to me that you yourself admit that you had abandoned the point of view of race for one that is quite different.

My chief difficulty was with galley 27. in your discussion of religion. Your treatment here did not seem to me to do justice to the New Testament position of the significance of the ethnic religions as a preparation for Christianity. Why should we not frankly say what obviously seems to be a fact?-- that the ethnic religions embody good as well as evil, good which we must attribute to that divine Word who, as the Apostle says, lightens every man that comes into the world. Why should we not frankly

Rev. Robert Speer, D.D.

February 4, 1924.

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admit that we have much to learn from the speculations of men who have been feeling their way after God even if we regard these speculations as inadequate and their outcome mistaken? There is nothing, I am sure, in what I have in mind which is not consistent with your own thought, but I believe that the statement of that galley could wisely be reconsidered.

On page 32 your arithmetic seems to be a little mixed up. You start in the Heading with three races, announce in your first paragraph that you are going to deal with two, and before you get through, increase the number almost indefinitely.

On page 48 I wonder whether your statement of the contrast between Mohammedanism and Christianity in its treatment of the race problem would not be strengthened by amplification. In the bald form in which you put it I feel sure it would be challenged.

These are small points but I pass them on for what they are worth. I only wish I had had the chance to give the manuscript the thorough and detailed consideration which it deserves.

Sincerely yours,

